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# ***Daily Report***

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-91-069  
Wednesday  
10 April 1991

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-*AFR*-91-069

### CONTENTS

10 April 1991

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

#### CENTRAL AFRICA

##### Chad

Gang Arrested After Occupying Police Headquarters [*AFP*] ..... 1

##### Sao Tome & Principe

New President Takes Oath of Office at Ceremony [*AFP*] ..... 1

##### Zaire

Mobutu Said Now Favoring National Conference [*Libreville Radio*] ..... 1

#### EAST AFRICA

##### Ethiopia

Rebels: 27 Officials, 150 Soldiers Captured [*Voice of the Ethiopian People*] ..... 2

##### Kenya

Two Ugandan Soldiers Reportedly Killed at Border [*AFP*] ..... 2

Border Security Said Tightened [*Nairobi TV*] ..... 2

DAILY NATION on Border Raids ..... 2

Reasons for Ending RSA Sanctions Noted [*Nairobi TV*] ..... 3

Somali Refugee Ship Reportedly Turned Away [*Nairobi TV*] ..... 3

\* Airport Improvement Projects To Boost Tourism [*DAILY NATION 16 Feb*] ..... 3

##### Somalia

Fighting Reported Between Rival Factions [*AFP*] ..... 4

Prime Minister Pays Working Visit to Egypt [*cross-reference*] ..... 4

##### Uganda

\* ACP-EEC Delegates Adopt 10 Resolutions [*WEEKLY TOPIC 15 Mar*] ..... 4

#### REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

De Klerk Expresses 'Full Confidence' in Malan [*SAPA*] ..... 5

Bill To Repeal Population Registration Published [*SAPA*] ..... 5

Mandela: Government 'Welcomes Slaughter of Blacks' [*London TV*] ..... 5

ANC 'Flexible' on Ultimatum [*Johannesburg TV*] ..... 6

ANC's Open Letter Demands Said 'Misunderstood' [*SAPA*] ..... 6

Ultimatum Impacts on Talks With Inkatha [*Umtata Radio*] ..... 7

ANC Ultimatum to Government Viewed [*THE STAR 8 Apr*] ..... 7

Methodist Bishop Expresses 'Shock' at Ultimatum [*Umtata Radio*] ..... 8

ANC, PAC, Inkatha Officials on Violence [*Johannesburg TV*] ..... 8

Katlehong Factions Agree to Peace Accord 9 Apr [*SAPA*] ..... 13

Katlehong, Others Called Unrest Areas [*SAPA*] ..... 14

One Killed, Two Injured in Grenade Attack [*SAPA*] ..... 14

Conservatives Blame Government for Mine Closure [Johannesburg Radio] .....	14
Midlands ANC Challenges Justice Minister [SAPA] .....	14
Azapo Criticizes UK Policy on Aid [SAPA] .....	14
9 Apr Press Review on Current Issues, Problems [THE STAR, etc] .....	15

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

### Angola

Dos Santos 'Convinced' Talks To Succeed [Lisbon Radio] .....	16
Dos Santos in Paris, Meets Mitterrand 8 Apr [Luanda Radio] .....	16
Meets Portugal's Cavaco Silva [ANGOP] .....	17
UNITA Allegedly Preparing for New Offensive [Luanda Radio] .....	17
* Text of Right of Assembly, Demonstration Law [JORNAL DE ANGOLA 7 Mar] .....	17

### Mozambique

Italian Envoy: Peace Talks Set for 'Next Week' [Maputo Radio] .....	19
Renamo Reportedly Violates Rome Accord 9 Apr [Maputo Radio] .....	19

## WEST AFRICA

### Benin

Soglo Meets Cabinet, Makes Statement on Health [Cotonou Radio] .....	20
--	----

### Liberia

Taylor Rebels Said Smuggling Guns Into Monrovia [London International] .....	20
--	----

### Niger

Troops in Saudi Arabia Expected Home 10 Apr [PANAF] .....	21
---	----

### Senegal

President Diouf Issues Decree on New Cabinet [Dakar Radio] .....	21
Prime Minister Thiam Makes Statement [Dakar Radio] .....	22
* Camara Independence, Credibility Doubted [WAL FADJRI 15-21 Feb] .....	22
* Student Violence: Political, Social Context [WAL FADJRI 15-21 Feb] .....	23
* 1990 Crop Figures Said Hard To Obtain [WAL FADJRI 1-6 Feb] .....	24

### Sierra Leone

'Stringent' Measures Said Urged Against Liberians [Monrovia Radio] .....	25
Fierce Fighting With NPFL Rebels [AFP] .....	25
NPFL Involvement Cited [AFP] .....	25
Momoh on Attack From Liberia, Multiparty System [Freetown Radio] .....	26

### Togo

Communique Issued After FAR, Eyadema Meeting [Lome Radio] .....	27
Schools, University Ordered Closed [Lome Radio] .....	27
Gasoline Price Increases Canceled [Lome Radio] .....	28
Sporadic Clashes Reported [AFP] .....	28
AFP Reports Armored Vehicles in Lome .....	28
Government Declares Nationwide Curfew [Lome Radio] .....	28
Demonstrations Resume 10 Apr [AFP] .....	29

## Chad

### Gang Arrested After Occupying Police Headquarters

AB0904182491 Paris AFP in French 1652 GMT  
8 Apr 91

[Text] Ndjamen, 8 Apr (AFP)—The Ndjamen police headquarters was stormed by an armed gang, which kept the police under control for two hours before fleeing, the CHADIAN NEWS AGENCY, ATP, reported in its latest edition. The incident began when more or less regular members of the security forces arrested and handed over to police headquarters a woman known for her secret police activities under the Hissein Habre regime, an official source from the Interior Ministry said. When they came later to inquire about her fate, they found that the prisoner had disappeared with, according to them, the complicity of the police. Thus they decided to carry out an operation against the police station, according to the same source.

On the night of 2 April, the assailants carrying military weapons (FAL and Kalashnikov assault rifles) invaded the police station, shooting into the air. They disarmed the police and gathered them in the yard. They broke open the doors of the premises, probably looking for arms, ATP reported. The assailants drove away at dawn. The National Security Headquarters refused to comment, but the minister of interior said that those who committed the act, which resulted in no casualties, had been arrested and were being questioned.

For several weeks now Ndjamen has been experiencing growing insecurity, which recently led the Chadian Government to set up a court-martial to fight crime and acts of banditry.

## Sao Tome & Principe

### New President Takes Oath of Office at Ceremony

AB0504170891 Paris AFP in French 1345 GMT  
3 Apr 91

[Text] Sao Tome, 3 Apr (AFP)—President Miguel Trovoada, elected 3 March as president of Sao Tome and Principe, took the oath of office this morning before the National Assembly in the presence of several other heads of state and government. The swearing-in ceremony of the new president was attended by his predecessor, Mr. Manuel Pinto da Costa, Portuguese President Soares, Cape Verdian President Mascarenhas, Guinea-Bissau President Vieira, and Mozambican President Chissano. Gabonese Prime Minister Casimir Oye-Mba was also present at the ceremony, as well as representatives from France, Angola, Senegal and Ivory Coast.

In his speech, Mr. Trovoada said he intended to give priority to social justice, "the keystone of democracy." He appealed to the former ruling party, the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (MLSTP), which, according to him, is "responsible for the democratic change," to take part in parliamentary life. That party will have an important role to play, stated the new president, who has the support of the Democratic Convergence (in power) which consists of several factions.

## Zaire

### Mobutu Said Now Favoring National Conference

AB0904222691 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1230 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] Zaire may have a right to its national conference. Many Zairian personalities, including the prime minister, favor the holding of a conference. President Mobutu has reversed his position. The Zairian head of state, who today favors the holding of a national conference, was for a long time strongly opposed to it, as we know. Mobutu Sese Seko thought his country did not need a national conference. Zaire's difficulties, he added, should be discussed at other meetings, hence his proposal of a constitutional conference last February. The idea of a constitutional conference was immediately rejected by the Zairian opposition which, as you know, is demanding a true national conference.

These differences between the government and left-wing parties on the issue even influenced the formation of the new government. When contacted, parties like the Union for Democracy and Social Progress of Tshisekedi and the Federal Union of Independent Republicans of Nguz a Karl-I-Bond refused to participate in the enlarged transitional government.

Henceforth, the principle of a national forum is accepted in Zaire. The government and the opposition agreed last weekend. It remains for other components of Zairian society, however, to accept it. The civilians have not yet said their last word. They are a significant force in Zaire, which supported the constitutional conference.

What kind of national conference should Zaire hold? Where? And when? If the date and place of this important meeting have not yet been fixed, the fact still remains that the conference should decide as a sovereign body its competence and agenda. The conference will be directed at, it is said, completing the democratic process and, above all, setting up Zaire's Third Republic. One thing already seems certain: the Zairian national conference should be very different from that of Congo. Zairians do not want to let the cat out of the bag. I am quoting the Zairian national press.



## Ethiopia

### Rebels: 27 Officials, 150 Soldiers Captured

EA0904144891 (Clandestine) Voice of the Ethiopian People for Peace, Democracy, and Freedom in Amharic 0400 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] Residents of Weldiya town and fighters in the area have captured 27 officials and 150 soldiers, including war criminals who attempted to escape from the Tewodros campaign. Among the 150 soldiers captured by the residents of Weldiya town and fighters in the area while attempting to escape by preparing [words indistinct] identifications when the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front People's Army annihilated the enemy army in Gojam and Gonder regions, are officials and war criminals.

## Kenya

### Two Ugandan Soldiers Reportedly Killed at Border

AB0804133691 Paris AFP in English 1150 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] Nairobi, April 8 (AFP)—Kenyan security officers shot dead two Ugandan soldiers over the weekend in two clashes on the Kenyan side of the border, the Kenyan press reported here Monday. Busia District Commissioner Ishmael Chelanga said that a man believed to be a lieutenant-colonel in the Ugandan Army was killed Saturday [6 April] during a gun battle lasting several hours between Kenyan forces and nine Ugandans in military uniform at the border village of Angelechom, near Busia town. The other Ugandan fled back into Uganda. Kenyan security offers were quoted as saying.

On Friday, [5 April] Kenyan security officers shot dead another man believed to be a Ugandan soldier at a primary school in Busia, according to Kenyan press reports. AK-47 rifles and ammunition were recovered from the dead men.

The incidents prompted a Nairobi daily to warn in an editorial Monday that Kenya would not tolerate border violations by Ugandan troops, even if the incidents resulted from a lack of discipline in the Ugandan Army.

"Kampala, Nairobi's patience is not infinite. Don't push Kenya too hard, don't push Kenya against the wall," the DAILY NATION said.

Ugandan officials, contacted by telephone from Nairobi, were not available to comment. Relations have often been strained between Kenya and Uganda. In January, the pro-government KENYA TIMES said Uganda was poised to invade Kenya, and had Scud missiles aimed at its eastern neighbour.

## Border Security Said Tightened

EA0904145091 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 7 Apr 91

[Text] The Busia district commissioner, Ishmael Chelanga, today confirmed that security personnel in the district had killed a gangster and recovered an AK-47 assault rifle and 16 rounds of ammunition. Chelanga said security forces, most of whom were administration policemen, encountered a gang of nine men while on patrol in the (Ngelechom) area of (Aukule) Division in Busia District. The gang defied a police order to stop and a shoot-out ensued leaving one member of the gang dead.

The district commissioner toured the area this morning with other members of the security committee and assured members of the public that security had been tightened in the border district following sporadic shooting incidents. Chelanga said security personnel were in the process of identifying and sealing routes previously used by smugglers to bring arms into the country. He disclosed that in the last two days security forces have recovered two AK-47 rifles, 76 rounds of ammunition, two hand grenades, a pistol, and several bomb detonators.

## DAILY NATION on Border Raids

EA1004090091 Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 8 Apr 91 p 6

[Unattributed editorial: "Uganda Must Stop These Border Raids"]

[Text] Why is it, we ask, that armed elements of Uganda's National Resistance Army (NRA) cross the border into Kenya every now and then? It cannot be that these soldiers do not know that there is a border. It cannot be that they do not appreciate the integrity of borders and the rules that govern the movement of people across borders. It cannot be that these soldiers do not know they violate these rules when they cross into Kenya armed to the teeth.

What, then, are we to make of these wanton crossings of the common border by Ugandan soldiers? These troops could be crossing the border to engage in criminal activity, such as armed robbery.

It may well be the case that these troops are spoiling for armed conflict with their Kenyan counterparts, considering themselves "battle-hardened" or some other such delusion of martial grandeur gleaned from many a village-scale skirmish. Let us look at some of these cases and see what they portend for the nowadays ever-fragile relationship between Kenya and Uganda.

If the NRA men cross the common border in order that they may [word indistinct], loot and maim, that is tantamount to a declaration of war. Armed military men are not common criminals. If these troops are spoiling for war, they are aggressors and Kenyans will have to defend themselves.

Whatever the level of indiscipline in the Ugandan military, it is no excuse whatsoever for NRA troops to keep violating the territorial integrity of a neighbouring country. When indiscipline results in aggression, the besieged party has to defend itself.

Is Uganda spoiling for war with Kenya? Maybe not, but the temerity with which NRA men enter Kenya and engage in exchanges of fire with this country's security forces does not make for good neighbourliness and portends trouble on an international scale.

We believe it is very easy for the leaders of the Ugandan military to put an end to this situation. All they have to do is to make their soldiers stay on their side of the border and tell their men that these cross-border raids could lead to a confrontation which neither country needs.

Indeed, they should tell the troops that Uganda, in fact, needs peace internally and with its neighbours in order that it may repair the damage it has undergone through years of civil strife. The troops should be told that Kenya, in fact, desires to live in peace with its neighbours and would be loath to be drawn into unnecessary confrontation.

These troops should be told that Uganda is already mired in another cross-border controversy - with neighbouring Rwanda - [word indistinct], something of the nature of a surrogate invasion. And that is no plus for Kampala but a whopping minus, especially given the fact that President Yoweri Museveni is the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

The OAU stands for the unity of the continent, but Africa's unity will not be achieved by military incursion. Any acts of aggression must be condemned and, indeed, the OAU charter is as dead set against them as is the United Nations.

Ugandans should expend their energies on rebuilding their country which has enormous potential, especially in agriculture. Kenyans should, and eminently do, expend their energies on the development of their country. Kenya and Uganda have a lot to gain from each other and that is exactly what they should be doing.

It will be recalled that in December 1986, NRA soldiers crossed into Kenya and engaged Kenyan security forces in a three-day skirmish, but Kenya was the first to sue for peace. Though there have been many other such incursions since, Kenya has upheld the peace. This is no sign of weakness.

Kampala, Nairobi's patience is not infinite. Don't push Kenya too hard: don't push Kenya against the wall. Let us just live in peace: It is infinitely more desirable than the reverse. Need we say more?

#### **Reasons for Ending RSA Sanctions Noted**

EA0904221291 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
0500 GMT 9 Apr 91

[From the press review]

[Text] In the editorial, the KENYA TIMES takes a look at sanctions against South Africa. The editorial reads: Why Sanctions should be lifted. There are several good

reasons why sanctions against South Africa [RSA] should be lifted soon. The process of change in that country is irreversible. Come June all remnants of the apartheid laws will be erased from the statutes, opening the way for a multiracial democratic society. We in Kenya are watching the events in South Africa with apprehension but with hope too.

#### **Somali Refugee Ship Reportedly Turned Away**

EA0904144691 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
0500 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] The [STANDARD] paper carries another front-page story in which the Kenyan Government is reported to have refused clearance to a Somali-owned vessel which docked near the entrance to Mombasa port with 850 Somali refugees, ordering the ship to leave Kenyan waters.

#### **\* Airport Improvement Projects To Boost Tourism**

91AF0836.1 Nairobi DAILY NATION in English  
16 Feb 91 p 12

[Text] A Minister of State in the President Office, Mr Burundi Nabwera, announced on Thursday that plans were underway to improve facilities at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport, Nairobi and the Moi International Airport, Mombasa.

He said a new airport would also be constructed in Eldoret.

He said plans for the rehabilitation of the Moi International Airport in Mombasa were complete and a Japanese construction company is set to start work on the Sh[Kenya shillings]1.6 billion project.

The Jomo Kenyatta International Airport, he said will be modernised while feasibility studies were underway for the Eldoret airport.

The Minister was speaking at the Serena Hotel Nairobi during a dinner party hosted in honour of Mr Minoru Shibuya the visiting vice-president of Pacific Consultancy International, a Japanese engineering consultancy company which has signed an agreement with the Kenya Government for the Mombasa project.

He said once the projects were completed Kenya would become a major destination or stop-over point for international travellers. Mr Nabwera said that the move would greatly boost the tourism industry.

Mr Nabwera praised the cordial Japanese relations between Japan business and Kenya and urged the Japanese to invest more locally and buy as much as possible from Kenya to reduce the trade gap.

Mr Shibuya said the Moi International Airport would have its run-way and drainage system, rehabilitated and a new passenger terminal with VIP lounge, a new baggage handling system, new passenger information system and a new navigation for safety of operation.

## Somalia

### Fighting Reported Between Rival Factions

AB0804180091 Paris AFP in English 1633 GMT  
8 Apr 91

[Text] Nairobi, April 8 (AFP)—Fighting broke out early Monday between rival Somali factions despite a temporary cease-fire agreed last week, a representative of the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) said here.

Omar Mohallim, the SPM's foreign affairs spokesman, said Hawiye tribesmen of the United Somali Congress (USC) had attacked the Darod forces of the SPM and their allies, the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) at Afgoye, 30 kilometres (18 miles) west of the capital Mogadishu.

The fighting was the first reported since Thursday, when delegates from the rival Darod and Hawiye clans agreed to a "preliminary truce" after talks, said Mr. Mohallim, who returned to Nairobi from the southern Somali city of Kismaayo on Sunday.

Mr. Mohallim, who spoke with SPM leaders in Somalia by radio from here on Monday, was unable to give details of the clash. "The SPM bore the brunt, but managed to repulse the USC," he claimed.

A Western diplomat in contact with the warring factions in Somalia said: "We had initially understood that a cease-fire took effect on April 4, but it is now evident that it was only a nominal cease-fire."

Mr. Mohallim said: "There was a preliminary, pre-arranged truce, but no cease-fire was signed and no cease-fire lines were drawn up." But he said he expected Darod and Hawiye delegates to meet "within two or three days" for talks about a possible cease-fire.

The diplomat confirmed that efforts to arrange a meeting were under way. "We are expecting the factions to set a date and place for a meeting at which they might formally agree on a cease-fire today or tomorrow."

Since President Mohamed Siad Barre was ousted in January, southern Somalia has been pitched into tribal war as the Hawiye and Darod clans which fought his regime have turned on each other.

### Prime Minister Pays Working Visit to Egypt

For reportage on the visit to Egypt by Prime Minister Omar Arteh Ghalib, including his talks with Egyptian Prime Minister Dr. 'Atif Sidqi and Egyptian President Muhammad Husni Mubarak, see the 5 April issue of the Egypt section of the Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

## Uganda

### \* ACP-EEC Delegates Adopt 10 Resolutions

91AF0842A Kampala WEEKLY TOPIC in English  
15 Mar 91 p 11

[Article by Joachim Buwembo]

[Text] The first part of the twelfth session of the Joint Assembly of the EEC-ACP [African, Caribbean, and

Pacific] states ended in Kampala last weekend, with delegates adopting ten resolutions.

On AIDS, the Joint Assembly agreed that the disease must be tackled with a multi-sectoral strategy and called for support programmes for information, medical services and relief for orphans. A working group on AIDS was to be set up, and a seminar on inter-sectoral coordination in combating AIDS will be organised.

With ACP indebtedness now reaching ECU [European Currency Units] 130 billion, the assembly called for cancellation of all ACP debts to EEC and all bilateral debts owed to EEC countries. The delegates called for economic policies that enhance diversification in the ACPs and more assistance to petroleum importers. EEC states were also asked to press European banks to reduce the ACP debts.

The assembly noted with satisfaction that hostilities in the Gulf had ceased and rejoiced about the fact that the United Nations has "resumed its responsibilities that are defined in its charters."

Delegates welcomed the direct negotiations between the government of Angola and the rebel UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], and called on the two sides to sign a ceasefire as soon as possible.

On Mozambique, the assembly asked the rebel RENAMO [Mozambique National Resistance] to renounce violence and to refrain from all violent acts in order to give negotiations a chance.

The assembly condemned apartheid and called for the creation of democratic and non-racial state in South Africa. It also condemned the RENAMO rebels who are used by South Africa to terrorise Mozambique and UNITA's destructive sabotage of Angolan infrastructure.

On the East African region, following a lengthy plea by Uganda's Minister of state for Planning, Mathew Ruki-kaire, the Joint Assembly called for more EEC assistance to PTA [Preferential Trade Agreement] projects, IGADD [Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development] and the Indian Ocean Commission.

The Assembly called on the European partners to welcome Somali refugees into their countries following the civil war in Somalia. The Europeans were also asked to participate actively in the reconstruction of Somalia.

On the situation in Sudan, the assembly welcomed the recent release of some 55 prisoners but called for the release of all political prisoners. The European Commission was asked to enter into dialogue with the Sudan, aimed at restoring relations with the war torn, famine plagued country.

The assembly resolved that in future, planning of transport infrastructure must ensure national, regional and international interdependence of all modes of transport namely road, rail, sea and air.

The next Joint Assembly will sit late in September in one of the European Community countries.

**De Klerk Expresses 'Full Confidence' in Malan**

MB0904144291 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1410 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] House of Assembly April 9 SAPA—All officials were expected to give their full cooperation to probes such as the Harms Commission and the auditor-general, the state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk, said on Tuesday [9 April] in reply to a question from Mr Tian van der Merwe (DP [Democratic Party] Green Point).

In answer to a supplementary question from Mr van der Merwe as to whether he was aware that certain instructions from ministers had not been carried out, he said Mr van der Merwe should ask such details from the ministers with the specific line function.

In answer to a supplementary question from Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP [Conservative Party] Losberg), Mr de Klerk said he had full confidence in the minister of defence, General Magnus Malan.

**Bill To Repeal Population Registration Published**

MB0904143891 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1407 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] Parliament Apr 9 SAPA—A bill providing for the repeal of the Population Registration Act was published here on Tuesday [9 April]. A memorandum attached to the bill said the objects of the bill were to repeal the Population Registration Act, 1950, and to provide for a transitional measure in order to ensure, for the interim period, the maintenance of the present constitutional dispensation. The bill states further that, notwithstanding the repeal of the act, "anything done in terms thereof shall, for the purpose of the provisions of any act, remain in force as if the repeal had not taken place".

**Mandela: Government 'Welcomes Slaughter of Blacks'**

PM1004084291 London ITV Television Network  
in English 1800 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Interview with Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, by correspondent Jon Snow in London on 8 April; from the "Channel 4 News" program—recorded]

[Text] [Snow] I spoke to the ANC's [African National Congress] deputy president, Nelson Mandela, a short while ago. I asked him, first, for his reaction to that accusation from Chief Buthelezi that, by threatening to suspend talks with the South African Government, he was in danger of sparking a civil war.

[Mandela] I do not want to refer to Inkatha in this interview. The issue is not between the ANC and Inkatha: It is between the ANC and the government. We are discussing with the Inkatha, and we intend to continue discussions with them. We would prefer to discuss matters directly with them, and not through the mass media.

[Snow] Mr. Mandela, isn't the problem partly, though, that you believe that certain people within the government are in league with Inkatha and are behind the violence?

[Mandela] We have stated our demands, and we blame the government for what is happening in the country, whether it is in the form of faction fighting amongst black organizations, or because of the activities of a third force, or at the complacency of the security services of the state, or the connivance by the government. The issue is between the ANC and the government.

[Snow] Many people see the real problem as being, at least in part, being between you and Chief Buthelezi—that neither of you have been able to call a halt to this bloodshed.

[Mandela] That is a misconception. The government has the capacity to put an end to the violence. They are not using that capacity. Also, it is quite clear that they seem to welcome the slaughter of blacks in this country. More than 1,000 people have died in 1990, and this year no less than 400 have died.

[Snow] Can you foresee, seriously, any chance of their getting rid of the two ministers, Mr. Malan and Mr. Vlok, whose resignations you have called for?

[Mandela] I don't see the reason for the row that has exploded, because almost each and every one of the demands that were made has been made before in parliament and in the mass media. The demand for the removal of both Mangus Malan as well as Mr. Vlok has been made in the quarters to which I referred. What is the reason for this row—simply because we are now adding our voice to that demand?

[Snow] Well, if you don't get these two resignations, Mr. Mandela, what is the consequence? What's going to happen after 9 May?

[Mandela] We have made it clear that if the government does not address this demand then there is no question of negotiation at all.

[Snow] Then Chief Buthelezi's point—that this could then drift straight in to civil war—is perhaps justified, is it not?

[Mandela] I have already indicated to you that I do not propose to discuss any differences between the ANC and Inkatha through the mass media. Any differences we have, we will discuss with them directly: We will discuss them with Inkatha.



[Snow] Mr. Mandela, it's now more than a year since you came out of jail, and so many expectations rode on your freedom. What's happened in the intervening time? What's gone wrong?

[Mandela] Well, we have taken a number of steps which make that question completely unnecessary. The negotiations—the discussions for peace, which are taking place in the country—were initiated by us. The discussions with Inkatha were initiated by us. We are also discussing with a number of other organizations in order to bring about peace in the country. We will continue to do so, but if the government fails to address these demands, then there can be no question of negotiations. The death of more than 6,000 people is a very important matter to us. It may not be so important to the government and to whites in this country.

### ANC 'Flexible' on Ultimatum

MB1004061491 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in English 0500 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] Nelson Mandela says the ANC [African National Congress] is prepared to be flexible on its ultimatum to the government. According to diplomatic sources who do not wish to be identified, Mr. Mandela has indicated that the ANC could extend the 9 May deadline if the government indicates clearly before then that it is prepared to take major steps towards ending violence.

The ANC deputy president was speaking in private to diplomats and ambassadors from at least 14 countries.

According to sources who attended the function, Mr. Mandela accused the government of trying to create the impression that the ANC was attempting to scuttle the peace process.

He told the meeting that the ultimatum was in fact a bid to save the proposed negotiations. Mr. Mandela said the township violence was becoming a national disaster. If the government failed to react more seriously, the ANC would stick to its ultimatum, the sources said.

### ANC's Open Letter Demands Said 'Misunderstood'

MB1004082891 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0702 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Cape Town Apr 10 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] was not properly heard or it was misunderstood on its open letter demands to the state president, the organisation's information secretary, Dr Pallo Jordan, said on Wednesday [10 Apr].

In an article written for the Cape Town morning newspaper, the CAPE TIMES, he accused the press of failing to grasp the depth of the crisis being faced and defended the organisation against what he said was a consensus among editors that the ANC's demands were unreasonable.

The demand for Gen. Malan's sacking was no more than what MPs [members of parliament], newspapers and other public figures had done.

The ANC merely added its voice to what had become a veritable chorus. "but only ours merited the riposte: bloody cheek!"

"It has become clear from the responses which our open letter has evoked that the ANC has either not been properly heard or its words are being completely misunderstood," he wrote.

"We find it quite remarkable that after a year which ended with something of the order of 2,900 African citizens killed and with almost 600 deaths already reported since January 1991, that most of our fellow South Africans, who pen the editorials and features in our daily newspapers, do not seem to realise that what we face is a deep crisis."

Prior to issuing what has been described as its unrealistic ultimatum to the government, the National Executive Committee [NEC] concluded that "the wanton acts of terrorism, mass murder and mayhem South Africa witnessed over the past six years have one aim: to bludgeon the African communities into submission and prevent the growth and development of autonomous institutions of popular expression, such as civics, the street committees and other organisations of popular character that enjoy the confidence of the townships' or villages' inhabitants."

There was consensus within the NEC that there was a well coordinated counter-revolutionary strategy unfolding with the aim of postponing indefinitely the inauguration of a democratic constitution.

The SA [South African] Government had been shown during the past 20 years to be the principal organising centre and headquarters of counter-revolution in the region.

The ANC had tried to "shake the government and compatriots who appear to have become desensitised to this violence out of their apparent complacency".

Dr Jordan said though the letter was explicitly addressed to the state president and the Cabinet, with a few notable exceptions, every commentator shifted the focus from the government to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP].

He left it to readers to speculate on the reasons for this "odd diversion".

The ANC would, however, continue to explore "every possible route of bringing peace with the IFP and every party, group or movement that shares its commitment to peace".

Dr Jordan dealt at length with the motives for demanding the resignations of the two ministers—on Gen. Malan's dereliction of duty regarding the CCB [Civil Cooperation Bureau] and its accounts and Mr Vlok's inability to explain the failure of his forces to apprehend killers involved in the most gruesome murders and their wholly inadequate policing of the violence.

He then turned to the newspapers or "scribblers who opine" for editorials which "fondly speculate about factions in the ANC". They appeared not able to decide what image of the ANC they preferred.

"At times it is a monolithic dogma-ridden organisation—when that will serve some perverse threat-perception. Today it is a cluster of competing factions."

The truth was that the ANC was neither, he said. There was no total unanimity among all on all subjects but to imagine that this implied factions was to mistake healthy debates and differences of opinion and emphasis inherent in a vibrant living organisation for internal conflict.

"We are dismayed at the studied evasion of the serious issues our open letter has raised by the South African media, with few exceptions," he said.

#### **Ultimatum Impacts on Talks With Inkatha**

MB0904085091 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0800 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] There is growing confusion on how the ANC's [African National Congress] ultimatum letter impacts on peace talks with Inkatha. Carmel Rickard reports:

[Rickard] ANC officials say their ultimatum letter wasn't intended to impact on talks with Inkatha. One official, Jeff Radebe, said the organization was amazed at the response of Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who said the talks were severed by the ANC. Radebe says this isn't so. Talks between the 12-a-side teams from the two organizations were due for later this week, but because of a problem about some ANC members not being able to make the meeting the date wasn't suitable, and the meeting was postponed. Radebe says it [the ANC] intended to discuss with Inkatha a new date for the talks.

However, the leader of the Inkatha delegation, Frank Mdlalose, says he finds the ANC's argument unconvincing. He says he believes comments in the ultimatum letter critical of Inkatha are such that they can only be intended to halt the peace talks.

#### **ANC Ultimatum to Government Viewed**

MB0804102391 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
8 Apr 91 p 11

[Article by Shaun Johnson: "Peace Bus in Trouble"]

[Text] In recent months it had become fashionable to visualise South Africa's negotiations process as a temperamental vehicle, requiring jump-starts and occasional services, but generally sound and with fairly good road-holding.

In the wake of Friday's [5 April] ANC [African National Congress] ultimatum to the Government the metaphor has to be extended: the peace bus has had its first major accident.

The bodywork is in a terrible mess, and the engine itself could be damaged. It is too early to pronounce it a write-off but, for the first time, that terrifying possibility exists.

Basic confidence in the process itself has been shaken as never before, and there will be a ripple effect throughout the society. It will take yet another high-profile, face-to-face meeting between President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela (complete with carefully worded face-saving statement) to rescue it again, but this will not be as easy as before.

Belief, especially among whites, in the ANC's commitment to a negotiated settlement and ability to deliver it will be difficult to sustain, and international investors who have been sniffing around the South African market will run off yelping in horror.

The horrific township violence—the point of the ultimatum—will continue as the leaders lock horns in politicking, instead of linking arms in peacemaking. One could go on with the sorry list: in all, the effect of the accident is catastrophic.

Why has it happened? The ANC's stated reasons for threatening to pull out of the talks—just when a breakthrough on the all-party conference appeared possible—seem to be only one part of a much bigger and more complicated picture.

There is no doubt that the township carnage is a matter of the deepest concern to the organisation, and that fingers can be pointed at the security forces' performance in this regard. The ANC has a strong case when it charges that black lives are treated far more cheaply than white in this country.

The problem is the cumulative effect of ANC demands, and their association with a deadline which, unless met, threatens apocalypse.

The ultimatum shows no awareness of (or respect for) the extent to which the negotiations process in South Africa is held together by the national psyche. There has developed a vague but crucial belief that Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela are, somehow, working things out between them. The ultimatum has shattered that trusting psychology, offering in its place only psychosis.

Unless the ANC leadership (and this seems unthinkable) was unaware that the announcement would have this effect, there are surely other powerful dynamics at play.



Certainly, the Government's negotiators believe that the ultimatum is a stalling and diversionary tactic. It will not be implemented to the letter, they say, but will buy time for the ANC to get its organisational house in order as well as placating the increasingly restless hardliners within the movement.

According to this scenario, militancy has been simmering ever since Mr Mandela gave delegates a dressing-down at the ANC's consultative conference in December. It was compounded by his moderate and accommodating statement of January 8, and again after the ANC made further concessions to the Government in the "D F Malan Accord" of February 12.

Militants were angry about the substance of these policy decisions and also by the fact that they were not consulted on them. In general—and not without some justification—it was believed that the Government, with its immense resources, was leading the ANC negotiating teams by the nose.

This mood has been heightened by the relentless violence and the broader political implications thereof. In particular, there is panic in ANC circles at the attempted elevation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to a status equal to that of Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk. This is not justified by his support levels, it is argued, and is a ruse to reduce ANC influence in negotiations.

Coupled with a woeful lack of ANC organisation around the country—it is even possible that the ANC's June conference will have to be postponed—this has caused ANC militants to try to put on the brakes, and the pressure has become too much for Mr Mandela to withstand. The ANC's priority now is to regroup internally (the planned expansion of its national executive committee forms part of this), whether or not this throws the negotiating schedule out of kilter.

It is therefore a comprehensible strategy for internal damage-limitation, but is implemented at the risk of the entire peace process. To return to the motoring metaphor: it is likely that the vehicle can be panel-beaten this time around, and that it will be on the road again. But as everyone who has had a serious accident knows, if you bend the chassis, the car is never quite the same again.

#### **Methodist Bishop Expresses 'Shock' at Ultimatum**

*MB0904082491 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0700 GMT 9 Apr 91*

[Text] A leading methodist bishop has expressed his concern at the ANC [African National Congress] ultimatum to government. The Reverend Stanley Mokheba says he hopes the threat to pull out of dialogue is just political posturing prior to the ANC's national conference in June.

The bishop says the ultimatum came as a great shock to the nation, which he says has been hoping and praying that substantive talks on the country's constitutional

direction won't take long to get under way. The bishop says people, who like himself are a little distant from the process, don't know why the ANC has taken such drastic action.

#### **ANC, PAC, Inkatha Officials on Violence**

*MB0604065591 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in English 2000 GMT 4 Apr 91*

[Studio discussion with African National Congress spokesman Popo Molefe, Pan-Africanist Congress spokesman Ernest Mosenke, and Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Musa Myeni, and moderator Pat Rogers: from the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Rogers] Mr. Molefe, the ANC [African National Congress] would seem to have the most to lose by township violence. On the other hand, I think they must also accept a great deal of the blame for it because has it not grown from the ANC policies and sloganeering of the mid-1980's when they demanded government by the people, when they urged that the townships should be made ungovernable? And that is what they have now got, and it's a Frankenstein they can't control.

[Molefe] That is not the position. It is true that the ANC had called for ungovernability, but it must be understood in its own context at the time. The context was that the people should defy the unjust laws of the apartheid system. They require also to defy the undemocratic local structures which had been imposed on the people.

[Rogers] That was the mid-1980's, but we've still got that violence going on now, and what I'm saying is that it's a Frankenstein that you are unable to control. It's a tiger that you can't dismount.

[Molefe] That violence did not start at the beginning of the 1980's. In fact, if you look at how this violence has developed, it developed by and large after the unbanning of the ANC and after the ANC had announced that it was suspending the armed struggle.

[Rogers] If we look at just one aspect of that violence—and it is perhaps the most horrible aspect—and that is necklacing. Hasn't that been something given to this country by the comrades?

[Molefe] Well, I do not know, but the fact of the matter is that it was not given to this struggle by the ANC. There has been [Molefe changes thought] the word comrade has been used loosely in the townships to refer to groups of thugs who have committed, in some instances, hideous crimes, but that does not mean that is the ANC...

[Rogers, interrupting] Eight hundred fifty necklaces and committed by people now called, loosely, cum-tsotsis [thugs], but people put in that direction, were they not, by the ANC?

[Molefe] No, no, we don't accept that they were put in that direction by the ANC. If anything, this reaction was the brutalization, the result of the brutalization of the policies of apartheid...

[Rogers, interrupting] Now Bishop Tutu said you can't go on blaming apartheid forever. Isn't it time to have a look at it squarely and accept some of the blame?

[Molefe] It is true that we cannot continue blaming apartheid alone, but we have to take proactive action to correct that situation. That is what our deputy president is doing now, but that does not amount to accepting the blame that the ANC is responsible...

[Rogers, interrupting] So you don't accept that, you don't accept that, but does that proactive action then include mass action like strikes, boycotts, stayaways, and so on, and is it not the case that much of the violence we see today arises from that mass action and the reaction to it, and wouldn't it be wiser to call it off?

[Molefe] Firstly, the proactive action that our deputy president referred to was with specific reference to this question of violence. We have said, for instance, do away with the so-called traditional weapons in public meetings. Stop people from carrying these weapons in the street. It doesn't matter whether they are members of Inkatha or members of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]. Any group that...

[Rogers, interrupting] Mr. Molefe, I am going to get...

[Molefe, interrupting] That has no relation with mass action.

[Rogers] I am going to get to that question when we get to Mr. Myeni, but if I could go first to Mr. Moseneke. Mr. Moseneke, you are an advocate, I think. One would like to think that that has something to do with law, which in turn has something to do with justice and peace, and how do you reconcile all that with a slogan like one settler, one bullet, which is modified here and there to one Slovo, one bullet; one De Klerk, one bullet; one negotiator, one bullet?

[Moseneke] One can deal with that very easily.

[Rogers] It will be the first time.

[Moseneke] Yes, one will deal with it and fairly fully. Look, I think the one point that must be made fairly clear is that we had a government that was in power for very many years, and there has been no doubt about it that it was kept in place primarily by security forces. It was a government which was undemocratic, unjust, which was in my view illegitimate...

[Rogers, interrupting] That's the history, and I have mentioned Bishop Tutu on the history, but couldn't we now look at where we are in the present and look to the future?

[Moseneke] Now we have made our position fairly clear. We have said the oppressed people in this country should at all times reserve to themselves the right to deal with the situation most effectively, but...

[Rogers, interrupting] You also reserve to yourselves the right to armed struggle, and you don't see it only as one of the strategies available but the main strategy.

[Moseneke] Look, I think one should make that fairly clear, and that is that if we are in the position which we are, where there is no democratic transition, we have suggested a peaceful, democratic method of reaching a different society, and we say...

[Rogers, interrupting] But people are trying to work towards that transition, and you are opposed to it.

[Moseneke] No, far from it. It is nothing...

[Rogers, interrupting] You are opposed to negotiations, are you not?

[Moseneke] Far from it. Let me make it fairly clear. Our position is the following: We say that if there is to be a transition in this country it must have democratic roots. We say that it is the people who for over 300 years have had no vote should now be accorded a vote from the beginning of the process, and that is why we have repeatedly in the PAC said that you need a constituent assembly which grows and springs from the people themselves which seeks...

[Rogers, interrupting] Well, the ANC is also in favor of a constituent assembly. Are you saying then that in fact your views on negotiation are exactly the same as the ANC?

[Moseneke] Insofar as the ANC is supportive of a constituent assembly as an [word indistinct] society principled on democracy...

[Rogers, interrupting] But isn't it your only (?view) that people never surrender power—you have to take it and you have to take it by force? Is that not your policy?

[Moseneke] Look, we make it quite clear. We say that there are always two methods through which you can change society, and we posit a peaceful method of transition, we say that all that government needs to do is, in essence, to accord to every citizen of this country a vote to elect representatives who in turn will create a new constitution. What could be more fair, what could be more democratic?

[Rogers, interrupting] Mr. Moseneke, you are making it all sound very reasonable and very fair and very democratic...

[Moseneke] It is in fact reasonable; it is...

[Rogers, interrupting] But that is not PAC policy as I understand it. As I understand it, you are opposed to the negotiation process, you believe that power can only be assumed by force.

[Moseneke] Look, we say [Moseneke changes thought] in the PAC we say you need to create a democratic process and we say, for instance, if you were to have an elitist agreement of leaders only, where the ordinary people are not involved, such an agreement would not in fact hold, and we say the right way to go about it is to allow everybody to take part in that process.

[Rogers] Well, I'd like to hear the views of your colleagues later, and we will get around to a more general discussion later. At the moment I am moving from one to one.

[Moseneke] Certainly.

[Rogers] As to their understanding of your policy, as you have explained it now and as they have understood it in the past, but...

[Moseneke, interrupting] But that's the only way to create peace. First let me add...

[Rogers, interrupting] Well, if you could make it quick, please.

[Moseneke] Yes, I'll make it very quickly. Your program lightly points out that we are not part of the present violence in the country. It's the very discipline, the sense of creating a new society that pervades PAC members which, in fact, ensures that they are not part of all the sad violence that we see around us. If anything...

[Rogers, interrupting] Well, okay, you're sounding a whole lot better than I have ever understood your party to be and we will pursue the point. Mr. Myeni, if one asks oneself the question who has the most to gain by this township violence, the answer could well be the Inkatha Freedom Party, because without the township violence which has made your party and its leader occupy center stage, without that the Inkatha Freedom Party would be a much more junior player in the political process. Recent polls have shown that given an election, you might score anywhere between 1 to 10 percent of the votes cast as opposed to 50 and 50 percent plus by the ANC.

[Myeni] I suppose that it is very clear from your question or statement that there are [Myeni changes thought] it is full of misconceptions, and I want to believe that this is not a general view, and if it is, then people have become victims of those polls and pseudopolls.

[Rogers] No, I am not talking about a general view. I am talking about scientific polls, and I am talking about four polls.

[Myeni] Coming also to the point of the Inkatha Freedom Party—historically, Inkatha has grown until last year, July 1990, registering 1.8 million of card-carrying members, and since then...

[Rogers, interrupting] Mr. Myeni, you were saying in short that you disagree with these four polls that have

been carried out recently by Markinor, Market Research Africa, the Human Sciences Research Organization, etcetera...

[Myeni, interrupting] Can you believe that in the Johannesburg area, out of more than 350,000 members that we have, not one has ever been surveyed, including myself? So what I am saying is...

[Rogers, interrupting] Well, there is a lot of inefficient survey companies out there.

[Myeni] Absolutely!

[Rogers] And they have to argue the case...

[Myeni, interrupting] Then inefficient results are also something that is worrying the world.

[Rogers] Let me ask you another question now about the carrying of traditional weapons. Why does Inkatha insist on doing that?

[Myeni] Well, as you might remember also that one of these past Sundays—Saturdays, eh Sundays, in fact—in Daveyton, some ANC people were arrested, and after a fight with the police...

[Rogers, interrupting] I can see we are not going to get any direct answers...

[Myeni, interrupting] Wait a minute, carrying traditional weapons. Now what I am saying in a nutshell is that...

[Rogers, interrupting] Why is it that you chaps don't get arrested when you carry them?

[Myeni] Many of our people have been arrested. If you care to...

[Rogers, interrupting] What? For carrying spears and sticks?

[Myeni] For carrying their traditional manly instruments.

[Rogers] Now, those traditional manly instruments, as I understand it, are spears and sticks. But we have all seen pictures on the television screen of the guys with their red doeke [scarves], and they are carrying not only spears and sticks, they are carrying axes and pangas [long knives]. Is that also traditional weapons?

[Myeni] We have always carried a number of these weapons, but they have never been a threat. And secondly, what is important to note, they are nothing compared to bombs and AK-47's. I can't see why you should worry.

[Rogers] Well, talking about AK-47's, I think your youth leader in the Transvaal was arrested a couple of months ago for handing out AK-47's.

[Myeni] What was the outcome of the court inquest?

[Rogers] Eh...

[Myeni] What was the outcome?

[Rogers] That I don't know. Was he found not guilty?

[Myeni] Okay, so therefore you cannot conclude that he was in fact found guilty, because the outcome is that he was acquitted of all of that.

[Rogers] Hmm, and was not in possession of AK-47's?

[Myeni] As far as I know he wasn't.

[Rogers] Hmm. Let me ask you also about the perception in some quarters that Inkatha has been in collusion with the police, and if one looks at the violence in Natal, we saw during the height of the violence there some Inkatha members appearing in uniforms of the kitskonstabels [special constables], which reinforced that perception. What would be your response to that?

[Myeni] I have never seen anyone appearing in that kind of uniform. But what is important to note is that the PAC people in the eastern Cape, during the Africanist fight against charterist, were equally accused of siding with the police. We have seen in Alexandra how our people have been treated badly by the security forces, also in Soweto and in many other places. There is absolutely no collusion between the two. However, what is important to note is that people also look for kinds of explanations and excuses to explain their inability to talk to their own people.

[Rogers] Right. Gentlemen, you have heard what each of you had to say. Are there any points here on which any of the others would like to...

[Myeni, interrupting] But before you proceed, before you proceed, I want to make a clear statement which the other gentlemen heard. Inkatha has got a history of nonviolence, has always believed in peaceful change, and it has been sucked into violence.

[Rogers] It has a history of nonviolent policy.

[Myeni] And practice.

[Rogers] But we have to agree to differ there. I think that Mr. Molefe...

[Myeni, interrupting] It's your view.

[Molefe] I don't want to deal with that part of it. I want to deal with the earlier question which relates to traditional weapons, and the question on bombs and AK-47s. The first point we would like to address is this: Mr. Myeni suggests that carrying spears and other so-called traditional weapons is manly. That is what he calls manly weapons. But we suggest that whereas previously those could have been called traditional weapons, but now they have become weapons of mass murder in the townships, and we suggest that in a situation where there is tension, and evidence that many lives have been lost as a result of the use of the so-called traditional weapons...

[Myeni, interrupting] We shall not allow [other participants interrupt] Wait a minute, no, I must come in here. Wwe can't, no, we can't...

[Rogers, interrupting] You had more than your share.

[Myeni] We can't, no, we can't allow this to happen...

[Rogers] Mr. Myeni, you have had more than your share, and we are going to come back to you. I would first of all like to ask Mr. Molefe why is it that wherever we see violence, we normally...

[Molefe, interrupting] Please allow me to deal with that question. Let me not deviate from it; I want to address it.

[Rogers] Alright, if you can make the point quickly.

[Molefe] I say that they have become weapons of mass murder. Many people have lost their lives. Now, apart from the law, common sense dictates to anybody, any leader who is serious about maintaining peace, including the state, leaders of the ANC, the PAC, Inkatha, and any other community leader, to act to prevent the carrying of these weapons in a situation characterized...

[Rogers, interrupting] You have made your point, and I am going to allow Mr. Myeni to challenge it. In fact, perhaps let's first come to Mr. Moseneke; then we'll come to you.

[Moseneke] Let me make a point which I believe to be fairly fundamental. I think it should be understood: If you seek to create peace, particularly within people within the same community, it's going to be critical that we begin to develop certain norms. Without question, one of the very first of these is that we should seek to create high levels of discipline within the ranks of our own political structures. There's no question about it. While I hear ANC talking, I hear Inkatha here talking, all both comrades and compatriots. But the fact of the matter is, the starting point of the solution is none of these high-flying conferences; all are welcome—fair enough. It is really creating structures on the ground. We have had limited skirmishes with other organizations in the past, but we've ensured that you create structures where people actually live, in the very townships and the areas. The people themselves in conflict should begin to set up structures that can address that situation. No amount of conferences in hotels and things can actually address what is so critical. Equally, if you say the state should really be dealing with that problem, you are actually taking away the initiative from those who should deal with it. The oppressed themselves, I think, should set up structures on the ground, begin to have meetings—not at executive level, perhaps not at regional level—at every township which is affected.

[Rogers] Okay, Mr. Moseneke, we will let them respond to that. I think Mr. Myeni, who has been very patient.

[Myeni] First of all it is cheap propaganda that the cause of violence is the carrying of traditional weapons. It's very cheap. People who are saying that are actually



diverting the attention of the nation from the real causes of violence. For instance, can the ANC-Communist Party alliance explain the program and the agenda of their underground structures? What are they doing?

Second, the ordinary people on the ground are responding to the aggression and the hostility that are in the townships already by carrying those traditional little sticks, to protect themselves against bombs. Two hostels have been bombed in Soweto. How do you explain that? Mr. Khumalo's house has been hand-grenaded this very day, today, this morning, in Alexandra. Now, you prefer people to carry bombs, you prefer people to carry all these others? But let's come to the structures.

[Rogers] Mr. Myeni, most of us prefer that people don't carry weapons at all. Would you like to address the point made by Mr. Moseneke?

[Myeni] But I want to come to the structures. We in Inkatha and the ANC agreed on 29 January on a peace accord. We have had more than 20 rallies throughout Natal, the Transvaal to spread that word of peace.

[Rogers] Listening to you both tonight, there's still very many differences between you.

[Myeni] Yes, but a lot of our people have died coming from those peace rallies. Now the point I'm making here is that the third force has been accused; the carrying of traditional weapons has also been labeled as the main cause of violence. But in terms of common structures, as Comrade Moseneke refers to, I would like to say that, for instance, there is a committee, 12 by 12—that is, 12 on the side of Inkatha and 12 on the side of the ANC. Instead of the ANC coming to that committee with the issue of the carrying of traditional weapons, they sought publicity by going to [Law and Order Minister Adriaan] Vlok and raising that publicly. Why don't they come first to this committee and say: Guys, we have agreed to set up these structures; these are the problems. [other participants interrupt]

[Rogers] Just a minute. I think Mr. Molefe must come in.

[Molefe] I am really shocked by Mr. Myeni's short memory. In a series of meetings in Alexandra at local level the issue of traditional weapons was addressed many times. We had called on Inkatha to say specifically to its members not to carry traditional weapons, that if we did so we would be able to obviate the tensions existing in the townships and prevent violence. The truth of the matter is that many people have been hacked, killed, stabbed in the township through traditional weapons.

I want to deal with one more point. The ANC was using bombs and AK-47's in the struggle against the apartheid system. It has now suspended that. It made it quite clear in the PRETORIA MINUTE that it is no longer going to do so, and it has not done it...

[Myeni, interrupting] Bombing railway lines? Supermarkets?

[Molefe] So that the ANC cannot be blamed for a bomb that exploded in a hostel, which the police themselves, up until now, do not understand.

[Rogers] A couple of quick questions. First of all, wherever we see violence, we see the ANC involved, whether it be in the Transvaal, whether it be in Natal, whether it be violence involving the ANC and the PAC or the ANC and Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] or the ANC and homeland administrations. The ANC is the common recurring factor. How do you explain that?

[Molefe] Let's get clarity: common recurring factor in the sense of it attacking or in the sense of it responding?

[Rogers] Without trying to apportion blame at this stage—and one would have to look at each case in turn—but wherever there is violence, there is the ANC. How do you explain that?

[Molefe] Well, it is difficult to explain except to say that the ANC constitutes the majority of [Molefe changes thought] an organization with a majority following in the country...

[Myeni, interrupting] Ahh, that's not true. That's not true. Wishful thinking, Popo.

[Molefe] And it is an organization that has posed a threat to [words indistinct] and that is an organization that all other groupings that had aligned themselves with the state have always had problems with—not in the sense that it is attacking them, but in the sense that they sought to undermine its influence and its strength...

[Moseneke, interrupting] Might I make this point, Pat? I know my friends here have had quite a large share. Might I make this very simple point? You know, we in the PAC have developed a small little saying that says there must be peace among Africans, and in many ways we have...

[Rogers, interrupting] Do you include whites there or not, by this?

[Moseneke] Oh, yes, oh, yes; certainly.

[Rogers] And how do you reconcile that with shooting them?

[Moseneke] I can deal with that when it's appropriate. I wanted to deal with a different question completely, Pat. The point is the following: I know this obsession about one settler, one bullet, that every time I talk I must add. But let me make this...

[Rogers, interrupting] You never answered.

[Moseneke] I always do. Let me make this simple point and which is really that at this time, more than any other, we, liberation movements, their very task by definition is to really transform our system, and you can't transform it by weakening the oppressed themselves, by letting blood at that level, and therefore creating turmoil and weakening those who should be an essential ingredient in transforming our society. And once more I want

to make the point, which I hope my colleagues would address, which is really we should begin to create a sense of greater responsibility in our own cadres. We should go out to them. And above all, none of the structures built high up there will work. Actually, in every township there should [Moseneke changes thought] I think structures which are in conflict should come out there and set up little committees, and begin to...

[Rogers, interrupting] But why have you not been able to exert some of this influence?

[Moseneke] Well, there are two basic examples, let me tell you, Pat; two basic examples where we had some conflict with the ANC—in Kagiso, and one time in Vosloorus, and Cape Town, and we immediately set up committees right on the ground, and people actually had to start dealing with each other when they actually were fighting. But the leaders do not have to do it, because they cannot produce the results.

[Rogers] Well, you don't seem to be achieving it overall. I mean, the country is aflame out there.

[Moseneke] This message the PAC has sent over and over, Pat. If people listen right around the country and stop labeling us as much as they do, they will understand we stand for a democratic transformation of this country [three-second break in transmission].

[Rogers] I am going to have to come to [three-second break in transmission] statement in conclusion. Mr. Myeni, you first.

[Myeni] Yes. First of all it must be remembered that Inkatha has always rejected violence as a means or a method of achieving political purposes. We would like...

[Rogers, interrupting] When your leader calls for peace, why don't you deliver peace?

[Myeni, interrupting] Yes, we have always called for peace, and even on our T-shirts you see always: Victory Through Peace. But what I think is critical is to establish whether the ANC and its Communist Party alliance member does reject violence as a means to achieve political purposes.

[Rogers] Okay.

[Myeni] Not just to suspend it against the government, but also reject it against black people.

[Rogers] Mr. Myeni, thank you. Mr Moseneke?

[Moseneke] Well, we say it is critical that liberation movements should strengthen those who don't have power now so that they can be able to be an essential ingredient in creation of a new society, and therefore peace, and they must be critical in that process. And as and when they decimate and kill each other, it can only worsen the entire country, and not only the oppressed for that matter.

[Rogers] Mr. Moseneke, thank you. Mr Molefe, in conclusion?

[Molefe] The ANC and the South African Communist Party made it clear that the solution to the problem is via the route of negotiations. There is no question of them making their position clear in that regard. But I think there is no time for us to engage in platitudes. What we have to say now is that all leaders who are serious about ending violence must deal seriously with the question of traditional weapons...

[Rogers, interrupting] You don't like to see those?

[Molefe] That must be stopped, and that the state, as the overall authority, must provide protection for all the citizens of the country. It should not stand up as an angel of peace and blame this violence on faction groups. It must take that responsibility, and we think once we begin to move in that direction we will bring about peace.

[Rogers] Gentlemen, thank you.

#### **Katlehong Factions Agree to Peace Accord 9 Apr**

*MB0904182791 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1800 GMT 9 Apr 91*

[By Connie Molusi]

[Text] Johannesburg April 9 SAPA—The warring factions at the Holomisa and Mandela Village squatter camps on the outskirts of Katlehong on the East Rand on Tuesday night agreed to end the fighting that has claimed at least nine lives since Sunday.

ANC [African National Congress] PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa told SAPA the two factions agreed to end the fighting following the intervention of the ANC regional office and the Katlehong ANC branch.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) [Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing] Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani will address a peace rally in the area at 9AM on Wednesday.

"The ANC hails the peace breakthrough as an eye-opener to many of our communities that we are capable of resolving problems amicably," Mr Mamoepa said.

He added the squatter community was worried by the erection of a barbed wire [as received] around the area as it might foster divisions among the people, particularly because he said it was erected without consulting the community.

"Its role has become obsolete in the light of the peace agreement," Mr Mamoepa maintained.

The ANC was still gathering information on the ground as to what caused the fighting and would release the details soon, he said.



Earlier on Tuesday afternoon, people were seen retrieving their belongings and leaving the tense squatter settlements to seek refuge in the greater Katlehong township.

### **Katlehong, Others Called Unrest Areas**

*MB1004103991 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1013 GMT 10 Apr 91*

[Text] Pretoria Apr 10 SAPA—Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok on Wednesday [10 Apr] declared Thokoza, Vosloorus and Katlehong unrest areas. In terms of a notice gazetted in Pretoria, he also imposed a 9pm to 4am [1900 gmt to 0200 gmt] curfew on the townships.

### **One Killed, Two Injured in Grenade Attack**

*MB0904125591 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1159 GMT 9 Apr 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Apr 9 SAPA—A woman was killed and two people injured in a hand-grenade attack in a squatter settlement in Alexandra township, near Sandton, Johannesburg, on Monday [8 Apr] night. Police spokesman Major Dave Bruce confirmed that a grenade was thrown onto the roof of a shack in Ninth Street about 8.45pm [1845 gmt].

Ms Tij Nomuwethu, age unknown, was injured in the blast, and died later in the Alexandra clinic. Two other women were injured in the blast. A spokeswoman for the clinic could not comment on their condition.

The motive for the attack was unknown, but investigations were in progress, Maj Bruce said. The media spokesman for the Alexandra Civic Association coordinating committee, Mr Neane Ntuli, who earlier reported the hand-grenade attack, said the situation in the township was "calm but tense" on Tuesday. He added they were still appealing to people to come forward to identify three remaining bodies of people killed in recent township violence.

### **Conservatives Blame Government for Mine Closure**

*MB0504140291 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1100 GMT 5 Apr 91*

[Text] The Conservative Party [CP] has blamed the government for the closure of gold mines. The CP's spokesman on commerce and industry, Mr. Daan Nolte, said in a statement in Pretoria that the National Party's poor management of the economy had led to the closure of the mines. Mr. Nolte said that the future of large rural and urban communities on the Transvaal and [Orange] Free State gold fields was in the balance.

He said the South African economy was not dependent on gold as a single commodity but that all the setbacks the economy had suffered through political mismanagement and unreasonable demands by black trade unions had landed the country in an economic mess.

### **Midlands ANC Challenges Justice Minister**

*MB0804063891 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2040 GMT 7 Apr 91*

[Text] Pietermaritzburg April 7 SAPA—The Midlands region of the ANC [African National Congress] launched a scathing attack on the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and Natal Attorney-General Mr Mike Imber during a march through Pietermaritzburg on Saturday [6 April].

Addressing several thousand ANC supporters in the city centre, a regional executive member, Reggie Hadebe, challenged both men to act on affidavits and dossiers on the Mpophomeni inquest, which found Inkatha supporters responsible for the deaths of three Metal and Allied Workers' Union officials in the township in December 1987.

Hadebe also urged Minister Coetsee and Mr Imber to act on documents pertaining to the "seven day war" between the ANC and Inkatha, which swept through Edendale Valley in March last year.

The march was held to express solidarity with both the Midlands region and its chairman Harry Gwala, who, it was alleged, was singled out in verbal attacks by local Inkatha officials.

"Let us strengthen our resolve to defend our region, to defend our chairperson, Comrade Gwala, and our people as a whole. Let us go back and build even stronger defence committees," said Hadebe.

During the march, some members of the SA [South African] Police were subjected to racial insults, said police spokesman Pieter Kitching.

### **Azapo Criticizes UK Policy on Aid**

*MB0804121891 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1132 GMT 8 Apr 91*

[Text] Durban Apr 8 SAPA—The British Government has refused to grant funds to the Azanian People's Organisation [Azapo] this year, and Azapo officials on Monday [8 April] accused them of "doling out funds to political organisations in a sectarian manner".

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, told a press conference in Durban they had been turned down by the British Government because they were not prepared to "wheel and deal" with State President F.W. de Klerk and had not renounced the armed struggle.

"The British Government claims that it supports Inkatha and the ANC [African National Congress] because these organisations are speaking to De Klerk and because they have renounced violence," he said.

"However, both those organisations are primarily responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocent black people in townships countrywide. "It seems to us that

the British Government is prepared to give money to organisations that are responsible for black people's deaths.

"Azapo is a legal organisation that has operated inside this country since its birth in 1978. It has never had a policy of bearing arms... and thus it is strange for the British to call on us to renounce the armed struggle.

"The British Government's demand that Azapo speak to De Klerk before it gives money is typical of imperialist governments. It also vindicates Azapo's position that it is Britain and the United States of America that are behind De Klerk.

"We want the British Government and the people of Britain to know that they have no right to hold organisations and people in this country to ransom. "Black people in this country will determine their own future without having guns to our head by imperialist powers who dangle carrots of filthy lucre. It is this money that is responsible for our continued oppression and for the deaths in the townships," he said.

#### 9 Apr Press Review on Current Issues, Problems

MB0904094691

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

Government, ANC, Inkatha Responsible for Violence—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 9 April in a page 12 editorial says: "Some facts need to be confronted. The Government's failure to restore credibility to security forces sadly ill-trained and sometimes partisan is part of the problem. So is the ANC's increasingly strident commitment to mass action and coercion, which is widely interpreted as incitement. And so is Inkatha's militaristic extravagances, in which calls to peace are made to worked-up warriors exercising the right to bear pangas [large knives], spears and swords." THE STAR believes there are two ways to tackle the problem: deploying greater numbers of security personnel in the townships, and appointing a security ombudsman. The ombudsman should be "completely independent, have the support of

the three major political groupings, and be required to conduct urgent public investigations into massacres and allegations of brutality and violence. Somehow, blame must be apportioned quickly and impartially as a prelude to redressing grievances." The "ombudsman force" "would not enjoy overnight success, but at least it would be a positive development which holds out the prospect of diminishing tension."

#### BUSINESS DAY

Mandela, Buthelezi 'Petulance' Displays—When the ANC demanded the dismissal of two Cabinet ministers there was "a buzz of surprise and puzzlement," notes a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 9 April. "But underlying all subsequent analysis about power plays and dissension in the ANC was a sense that the stakes were too high for any player to destroy the peace process wilfully." Now Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi "has considerably raised the temperature of the national debate with an outburst containing threats to opt out of negotiations and raising the spectre of civil war." Mandela's and Buthelezi's "latest displays of petulance ill befit their claims to statesmanship and suggest that they, too, are being sucked into the whirlwind of intolerance, name-calling, and violence. Their warm embrace at a meeting only a few days ago assumes a bitter irony."

#### SOWETAN

De Klerk, Mandela Negotiation Style 'Too Personal'—"The remark to SOWETAN's political correspondent by a senior source in the ANC that the future of the country and of the negotiations can no longer be driven only by the apparent friendship between President F.W. de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela is very significant," says the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 9 April. "It shows that in certain quarters the bitterness over the way things are today is even deeper than it first appeared." "Perhaps the problem was that it became too personal a style for negotiations about something as important as the future of the country. Perhaps the problem was that as the months went by too many other people, both inside the ANC and out, found themselves excluded from what was going on."

**Angola****Dos Santos 'Convinced' Talks To Succeed***LD0704225191 Lisbon Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 2200 GMT 7 Apr 91*

[Report on "exclusive interview" with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos with Radio Comercial's Joao Paulo Diniz; place and date not given]

[Text] The Angolan peace talks will resume tomorrow, with signs that all is going well. An outline of the cease-fire agreement is believed to have already been drawn up, and there is every indication that it may be signed before the end of the month. The optimism that dominates the Estoril talks has been echoed by statements from President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in an exclusive interview with Radio Comercial's Joao Paulo Diniz, in which he voices confidence in a future of peace for his country:

[Begin Dos Santos recording] We are convinced that this round of talks now under way in Portugal will bear fruit, provided there is good sense and realism on the part of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

It seems to me that the mood that has transpired from the talks, especially through the observers and Portuguese mediators, gives us grounds for a certain optimism regarding the future. It is too soon, however, to make forecasts. We want peace, we are working for peace, and sooner or later it will arrive in Angola. [end recording]

In his interview for Radio Comercial, the president also spoke of the first free elections to be held in his country and pointed out that allowing a period of 24 months to mediate between a cease-fire and the holding of elections would be the most viable proposition. Eduardo dos Santos also had a warm message for the Portuguese and the Angolans living abroad and spoke of tightening the ties between Portugal and Angola:

[Begin Dos Santos recording] Naturally, I would like to tell all the Portuguese that Angola remains a friendly country, desirous of tightening the ties of friendship that have bound us for so many years. These are historical ties, blood ties. [passage indistinct] To our compatriots, the message is one of harmony and peace, that we may work toward greater understanding, for there is room for everyone in our country. [end recording]

**Dos Santos in Paris, Meets Mitterrand 8 Apr***MB0904071191 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 8 Apr 91*

[Report from Paris correspondent Alberto de Sousa]

[Text] President Jose Eduardo dos Santos arrived in Paris this morning on a three-day official visit to France. The first day of the visit has been marked by bilateral talks. Dos Santos has already held working meetings with

his French counterpart Francois Mitterrand, Foreign Affairs Minister Roland Dumas, and Cooperation and Development Minister Jacques Pelletier. In the evening, President dos Santos met with Defense Minister Pierre Joxe.

President Eduardo dos Santos is currently attending a dinner hosted by the chairman of Elf-Aquitaine's board of directors.

Sources in Paris say that in addition to the rescheduling of Angola's foreign debt, President dos Santos has come to Paris to invite France to take part in the UN force which will monitor the cease-fire in Angola.

The presidential delegation is holding talks in Paris on the organization and automation of the Angola National Bank [BNA], including the creation of services for private customers, commercial and industrial sectors, and farmers. The talks will also discuss the creation of a national credit system aimed at reorganizing the economy, and the study of an industrial fishing project, including the construction of a fish processing plant employing 1,200 workers. The factory, which will export 90 percent of its production, will be privately owned without any guarantees required by the Angolan state. The delegations will also exchange views on relations between BNA and the French foreign trade bank.

The two countries are also discussing issues relating to grain and livestock, organization of rural and city markets, financial assistance, and rescheduling of Angola's foreign debt.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is scheduled to have a working breakfast with French businessmen. Like in Spain, Dos Santos will urge the French businessmen to invest in Angola under the terms of the foreign investment law. German businessmen are also interested in investing in Angola, and a business delegation from that country is in France to meet the Angolan presidential delegation.

Cooperation between Angola and France has experienced satisfactory levels in the trading, entrepreneurial, banking, and financial sectors. A general accord of cooperation has been signed by the two countries in order to promote bilateral relations on the basis of respect, noninterference, and mutual advantages.

Angola's long term debt to France amounts to \$55 million, and the short term debt has been estimated at \$12 million. These figures have not frightened the two countries because the Angolan Government has managed its finances reasonably well. Moreover, there are signs of efforts being made to revive the Angolan economy.

Official circles in Luanda favor the strengthening of relations with France. Ever since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1978, and taking into account the

French attitude, France has been a partner to be reckoned with in the strengthening of bilateral relations, and in the assessment of international affairs, notably in southern Africa.

### **Meets Portugal's Cavaco Silva**

*MB0904193991 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese  
1921 GMT 9 Apr 91*

[Text] Paris, 9 Apr (ANGOP's special correspondents)—Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos met with Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva in Paris today. The meeting occurred on the second day of the Angolan head of state's visit to France. Contrary to planning, the meeting was held at the Hotel Crillon, in the French capital. The presidential tour initially included a stopover in the Portuguese city of Faro after his visit to France, where a meeting would take place with the Portuguese prime minister.

### **UNITA Allegedly Preparing for New Offensive**

*MB0904122391 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 8 Apr 91*

[Text] UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] battalions backed by powerful war materiel have been shelling the outskirts of Luena city, the capital of Moxico Province, since 1 April. FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] forces have responded, however, and caused severe enemy losses. Our Moxico Province correspondent reports:

[Begin recording] [Words indistinct] in the continuation of decisive operations by FAPLA forces to defend the people of Luena [words indistinct] 52d Battalion. The enemy has had 238 soldiers killed and every direction of its cowardly attack on Luena city has failed so far. Our forces also captured four AK weapons, three 60-mm mortars, and large quantities of ammunition.

Meanwhile, (?Army sources) have confirmed that UNITA has been forming large columns of trucks with war materiel which has come from Cuemba, Muiango, and Cicala to supply the UNITA forces around Luena city so they can launch a new major offensive against the capital of Moxico Province. [end recording]

### **\* Text of Right of Assembly, Demonstration Law**

*91AF0830A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 7 Mar 91 p 1*

[Decree issued by the president of the Republic in March 1991: "Law on the Right of Association and Demonstration"]

[Text] Law No. [left blank]—1991

It being necessary to regulate the right of association and demonstration, consecrated in the Constitution, within

the framework of the social-political changes in progress in the People's Republic of Angola;

Pursuant to the provisions of Article 38, line b) of the Constitution and by the authority vested in me by Article 53, line i), of the Constitution, the People's Assembly approves and I do sign and publish the following law:

### **Law On the Right of Association and Demonstration**

#### **Article 1. (Scope)**

All citizens are guaranteed the right of association and peaceful demonstration, under the terms of the Constitution and the present law.

Members of the military may not participate in meetings of a political nature or in any type of demonstration.

#### **Article 2. (Definitions)**

1. For effects of this law, association is understood to mean the temporary association of persons, organized and noninstitutional, for the exchange of ideas regarding matters of a diverse nature, namely, political and social matters or matters of public interest, or for any other legal purposes.

2. Demonstration is understood to mean march, parade, or rally for the public expression of will regarding political and social matters, matters of public interest, and others.

#### **Article 3. (Freedom to Exercise the Right of Association and Demonstration)**

All citizens have the right to free and peaceful association in public places, places open to the public, and private places, independent of any authorization, for purposes not contrary to this law, to morality, to public order and tranquillity, or to the rights of individuals, singly and collectively.

#### **Article 4. (Limitations on the Exercise of the Right)**

1. Without prejudice to the right to criticize, meetings or demonstrations that, by their purpose, offend the honor and consideration owed to the sovereign organs of the nation are prohibited.

2. Meetings or demonstrations involving the unauthorized occupation of public or private locations are prohibited.

3. For reasons of security, the competent authorities may ban meetings or demonstrations in public places situated less than 100 meters from the site of sovereign organs, encampments and installations of the military and militarized forces, prison establishments, diplomatic or consular representations, and headquarters of political parties.

#### **Article 5. (Time Limitations)**

1. Meetings and demonstrations may not be prolonged after midnight, except when held in enclosed arenas.



theaters, buildings without residents or, in the case of residential buildings, when the residents are the promoters or have given their assent in writing.

2. Marches and parades may not take place before 1900 on work days or before 1300 on Saturdays, except when duly justified and authorized.

#### **Article 6.**

1. The individuals or entities promoting meetings or demonstrations open to the public must submit notification, in writing and at least three working days in advance, to the governor of the province, if the site of the event is located in the provincial capital, or to the commissioner in the area.

2. The notification must include the time, locale, and purpose of the meeting and, in the case of marches and parades, the route that will be taken.

3. The notification must be signed by five of the promoters, duly identified as to name, occupation, and address, or, in the case of collective entities, by the respective leadership organs.

4. The official who receives the notification shall issue a document attesting to its receipt.

#### **Article 7. (Prohibition of Meetings or Demonstrations)**

1. If the governor or commissioner decides, under the terms of Article 4 of the present law, to prohibit the meeting or demonstration, he must justify his decision and communicate it in writing to the competent authorities within 24 hours after he receives the notification.

2. If he does not notify the promoters within the time indicated in the previous number, he shall be considered to have no objection to the meeting or demonstration.

#### **Article 8. (Interruption of the Exercise of the Right)**

1. The police authorities may interrupt meetings or demonstrations held in public places when the latter go beyond their purpose by the commission of acts contrary to the law or morality, or when they seriously disturb public order and tranquillity, infringe upon the free exercise of the rights of citizens, or violate the provisions of Article 4, No. 1, of this law.

2. The decision to interrupt the meeting or demonstration to which the preceding number refers shall be set down in a document justifying the interruption order, and a copy of said document shall be delivered to the promoter within 12 hours.

3. The police authorities who order the interruption must immediately notify the civil authority to which Article 6, No. 1 refers.

#### **Article 9. (Guarantees of the Exercise of the Rights)**

1. The authorities must take the necessary steps to see that the meetings or demonstrations take place without

interruption by counter demonstrations or other factors that could impede the free exercise of the rights of the participants; these steps may include, when justified, the presence of representatives or agents of the public order in the respective locale, without prejudice to the provisions of the following article.

2. For the purposes of the previous number, the governor or commissioner shall inform the authorities of the meetings or demonstrations to be held under the provisions of Article 6 of the present law.

#### **Article 10. (Order in Closed Arenas)**

1. No agent of authority may be present at meetings or demonstrations held in closed arenas, unless at the request of the promoters.

2. If they have not requested the presence of a police authority, the promoters of meetings or demonstrations in closed arenas are responsible, in terms of general rights, for maintaining order within said arena.

#### **Article 11. (Change of Route)**

1. If it is essential for the orderly traffic of persons and vehicles on public thoroughfares, the authorities may alter the route plan or determine that marches and parades will be limited to one side of the roadway.

2. The order changing the planned route must be communicated by the authorities to the promoters within 48 hours after receipt of the communication referred to in Article 6, No. 1, of the present law.

#### **Article 12. (Reservation of Public Locations)**

1. The authorities to which Article 6, No. 1 refers should set aside certain public sites, duly identified and circumscribed, for the conduct of meetings and demonstrations.

#### **Article 13. (Prohibition of Weapons)**

1. It is forbidden to carry weapons in meetings or public demonstrations; the promoters are obligated to relieve the bearers of their weapons and turn them over to the authorities.

#### **Article 14. (Violations and Sanctions)**

1. Anyone who carries a weapon in meetings or demonstrations in public facilities or places open to the public is committing the crime of disobedience, punishable under the Penal Code, without prejudice to other sanctions that apply in this case.

2. Anyone who disrupts a meeting or demonstration, preventing or attempting to prevent the free exercise of these rights, shall be subject to the penalty for qualified disobedience as provided in the Penal Code.

3. Those who hold meetings or demonstrations in violation of the provisions of the present law incur the penalty for the crime of disobedience as provided in the Penal Code.

4. Authorities who impede or attempt to impede the free exercise of the right to association or demonstration, outside the provisions of the present law, incur the penalty for the crime of abuse of authority, as provided in the Penal Code, and will also be subject to disciplinary action.

5. Abuses committed in the exercise of the right to association and demonstration, whenever they may occur, will subject the violators to the penalties and sanctions provided in the law.

#### Article 15. (Appeals)

1. Decisions by the authorities impeding the exercise of the right of association or demonstration or in violation of the provisions of the present law may be appealed by the aggrieved parties to the Provincial People's Court within 20 days after the respective decision.

2. The decisions of the Provincial People's Courts may be appealed to the Supreme People's Court.

3. The legal authority to impugn or appeal the decisions of the courts is limited to the promoters.

#### Article 16. (Revocation)

Decree Law No. 406/74, of 29 August, extended to Angola by Edict No. [left blank], of [left blank], is hereby revoked.

#### Article 17. (Entry into effect)

This law is in effect immediately.

Read and approved by the People's Assembly. So published.

Luanda, March 1991

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the republic

### Mozambique

#### Italian Envoy: Peace Talks Set for 'Next Week'

MB0904181291 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] The aim of the visit by Italian Ambassador to Maputo Manfredo di Camerana to Canxixe in Sofala Province yesterday was to assess the functioning of the Roma-Gorongosa radio communications system and to prepare for the next round of talks between the Mozambican Government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance].

Di Camerana, who chairs the joint commission for the verification of the Rome Accord, which confines Zimbabwean troops to the Beira and Limpopo corridors, said he met with [Renamo Secretary for Foreign Affairs] Raul Domingos with whom he discussed various aspects of the Mozambique peace process, including the cease-fire.

According to the Italian ambassador, the political issues to be discussed at the next round of talks include the new

Constitution of the Republic, the electoral law, the Law on Political Parties, the formation of a national army, and a cease-fire. Acknowledging a new Renamo attitude toward the Mozambique peace process, Di Camerana said he expects next week's meeting to produce positive results.

Di Camerana said: The radio communications system is ready. I spoke to Maputo, Rome, and Blantyre from Canxixe. He added: Everything is ready to resume talks in Rome next week, which had originally been scheduled to begin on 8 April.

The establishment of a radio link between Rome and Gorongosa, via Blantyre in Malawi, was demanded by Renamo to continue the negotiations. Italy played a role in establishing the aforementioned link and was assisted in this by the Malawian Government.

Manfredo di Camerana added that Mario Raffaelli, coordinator of the mediating group and member of the Italian Government, was in Maputo last week for talks with Mozambican officials, including President Joaquim Chissano. The Italian ambassador said: The talks were positive, and the Mozambican authorities reiterated their determination to successfully conclude the search for peace in the country.

He added: Italy seeks the greater involvement of Mozambique's neighbors in the peace process, particularly the monitoring of a possible cease-fire. Accordingly, Mario Raffaelli and Manfredo di Camerana went to Pretoria last week for talks with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha. Botha supports the peace process in Mozambique. He added: The Italian Government will today officially invite the Mozambican Government and Renamo delegations to next week's talks. He emphasized: As you can see, everything is in place to resume the talks. He also disclosed that of late there have been no reports of violations of the partial cease-fire accord in the two corridors.

#### Renamo Reportedly Violates Rome Accord 9 Apr

MB1004104391 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] armed bandits have violated the Rome Accord yet again. Last night, they carried out a raid on Chimoio city's Francisco Manianga ward, about 1 km from National Route 6 and the Beira-Machipanda railroad. Radio Mozambique's Chimoio correspondent reports that the criminals stole goods from 17 civilian homes and used bayonets to wound three people, including two minors eight and 13 years of age. The military commander for Manica Province and the military commander of the 3d Mechanized Brigade visited Francisco Manianga ward this morning to learn about the damage caused by Renamo's criminal attack.



## Benin

### Soglo Meets Cabinet, Makes Statement on Health

AB0904120891 Cotonou Domestic Service in French  
0615 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] Yesterday evening, President Nicephore Soglo made his first statement since his inauguration on 4 April. The head of state made it a point to reassure the Beninese people of his state of health, which is currently of concern to the entire nation. President Nicephore Soglo said he was touched by the many prayers for his recovery. President Soglo also met yesterday with members of his Cabinet and assigned them the necessary tasks. The nation's key concerns were discussed at that meeting.

President Soglo's personal doctor, (Jean-Georges Gwadgen), also talked at length to reporter Celestin Mara about the president of the Republic's ailment. First, let us listen to President Nicephore Soglo's message, which will be followed by the president's doctor.

[Begin Soglo recording] Fellow Beninese, dear compatriots: I made it a point to address you this evening to reassure you of my state of health which, I know, is your greatest concern. I also know that fervent prayers are being said for my recovery in several homes. I thank you all. I hope that God, the giver and taker of life, will heed our prayers favorably. I am certain that as He has already done so much for our dear Benin he cannot abandon us at a time when we are coming ashore after having overcome all obstacles.

In actual fact, my health has improved considerably, and I have just held discussions with the members of the government and assigned them the necessary tasks. Above all, fellow Beninese, dear compatriots, I call on you to remain confident. Everything started very well, so it can only end well. Thank you for your show of confidence. I shall now leave it to my doctor to give further details on my health. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [(Gwadgen)] Clinically, the president of the Republic was suffering from three afflictions: first, typhoid fever, which you all know about, and whose development you are aware of. You know that it is a very tiring disease that forces the patient to remain in bed. Second, there was an abscess on the president's left buttocks, which was lanced as soon as he arrived in France on 28 March. This abscess is virtually cured, so concerning this point, the problem has been resolved. Third, the president is suffering from an acquired narrow lumbar duct at the lumbar level of the spinal cord; a vertebral duct that is narrower than normal with two slipped disks, which explains the pain the president of the Republic is in and the difficulty he has in walking. Compounded with this acute fatigue is, of course, the considerable loss of weight resulting from all these ailments, which implies that the president's recovery can only be slow, but concerning this point, everything is going well.

[Mara] Doctor, do you think the head of state will really recover well enough to tackle national issues such as the formation of his government?

[(Gwadgen)] Yes, within one month at most. [end recording]

## Liberia

### Taylor Rebels Said Smuggling Guns Into Monrovia

AB0804205091 London BBC World Service in English  
1830 GMT 8 Apr 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The border situation between Sierra Leone and Liberia was the main focus of discussions this weekend at rebel leader Charles Taylor's headquarters in Gbarnga. The meeting was originally intended to be between Taylor and delegates from the national conference in Monrovia. In the event, Taylor spent most of his time with the U.S. ambassador to Liberia, Peter De Vos, whom Charles Taylor had invited to Gbarnga specially. Scott Sterns was in Gbarnga and he telexed us this report: [Begin studio announcer recording] The U.S. ambassador to Liberia visited Charles Taylor this weekend at his capital, Gbarnga, and talked about the military situation around the Liberia-Sierra Leonean border. Speaking outside the hall where delegates of the national conference were scheduled to meet this evening, Ambassador Peter De Vos said that he went to Gbarnga on Charles Taylor's invitation to reiterate the Bush administration's determination to support a democratically elected government in Liberia. De Vos said that the situation on the Sierra Leonean border was a great concern to the international community, but Taylor had assured him that he is not involved because he does not wish to fight a two-front offensive.

Taylor had not, however, extended the same invitation to a delegation from the national conference in Monrovia, who are hoping to meet him this weekend. Conference Co-chairman Herbert Brewer said that the delegation was told to communicate with Taylor through his representatives in Monrovia.

Meanwhile, a coalition of interest groups, whose attempt to stage a peace march this morning was blocked, has called for the immediate formation of an interim government responsible for the creation of a national army. The coalition was told this weekend that they would not be allowed to hold the demonstration this morning because the interim minister of justice and ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] could not guarantee their security. ECOMOG sources claim that Taylor rebels are increasingly trying to smuggle guns into the capital, Monrovia. [end recording]

## Niger

### Troops in Saudi Arabia Expected Home 10 Apr

AB0904182291 Dakar PANA in English  
1354 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] Niamey, 9 April (ANP/PANA)—The military contingent sent to Saudi Arabia by Niger on 15 November, 1990, is expected to return home on Wednesday, a military source said in Niamey on Tuesday. The 481-man contingent was under the command of Col. Amadou Seyni, former political secretary of the country's ruling Movement for Development Society single party.

Also, the source said Saudi Arabia plans to provide Niger with one million dollars for the training of its troops as well as to cover the cost of equipment being left behind by the soldiers during their stay in the Gulf. He said the assistance was announced by the commander-in-chief of the coalition forces in the Gulf, Saudi Gen. Khalid bin-Sultan-bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, who paid a visit to Niger from 1 to 3 April.

A member of the Islamic Conference Organization, Niger, with a Muslim population accounting for 85 percent of its total inhabitants, was the second sub-Saharan African country, after Senegal, to dispatch troops to Saudi Arabia during the Gulf crisis.

## Senegal

### President Diouf Issues Decree on New Cabinet

AB0804221291 Dakar Domestic Service in French  
2020 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Decree issued by President Abdou Diouf in Dakar on 8 April]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, we were waiting for the list of members of the new government—it is now ready. Here is the list of members of the new government, which we have just received:

On the proposal of the prime minister, the president of the Republic today appointed a government made up of 19 ministers, including a minister of state. He also appointed as members of government seven delegate ministers who, without being at the heads of ministries, will help the prime minister or the minister to which they are delegated. It is worth noting that the Constitution of the new government, in line with the extension of the presidential majority, has not provided for any new administrative services. The president of the Republic will chair the first Cabinet meeting on Wednesday, 10 April, at 1030. He will make an important speech on this occasion. Concerning Decree No. 91429 on the appointment of ministers; concerning the Constitution, notably Article 43; concerning Decree No. 90332 of 27 March 1990 on the appointment of ministers; concerning

Decree No. 90/1991 of 17 October 1990 on the appointment of ministers; concerning Decree No. 901425 of 18 December 1990 putting an end to the functions of Seydou Madani Sy as minister special counselor to the president of the Republic; concerning Decree No. 91432 of 7 April 1991 on the appointment of the prime minister, on the proposal of the prime minister, the president of the Republic decrees:

Article 1: The appointment of ministers whose list was set up by decrees on 27 March 1990 and 17 October 1990 has been abrogated.

Article 2: The following are appointed members of the Cabinet:

Minister of State	Abdoulaye Wade
Economy, Finance and Planning	Famara Ibrahim Sagna
Armed Forces	Medoune Fall
Justice, Guardian of the Seals	Serigne Lamine Diop
Foreign Affairs	Djibo Neti Ka
Interior	Madieng Khary Dieng
Education	Andre Sonko
Equipment, Transport, and the Sea	Robert Sagna
Rural Development and Water Resources	Cheikh Abdou Khadre Cissoko
Industries, Commerce, and Crafts	Alassane Dialy Ndiaye
Tourism and Environmental Protection	Jacques Baudin
Urban Planning and Housing	Amath Dansokho
Labor and Professional Training	Ousmane Ngom
Communications	Moktar Kebe
Health and Social Development	Asane Diop
Culture	Moustapha Ka
African Economic Integration	Jean-Paul Diaz
Youth and Sports	Abdoulaye Makhtar Diop
Women, Child, and Family Welfare	Mrs. Ndjoro Ndiaye
Minister Delegate to the Prime Minister in charge of the Civil Service, Computerization, and State Modernization	Magued Diouf
Minister Delegate to the Prime Minister in charge of Relations With Assemblies	Coumba Ndoffene Bouna Diouf
Minister Delegate to the Prime Minister in Charge of Emigres	Mrs. Mata Sy Diallo
Minister Delegate to the Prime Minister in Charge of Economy, Finance, and Planning	Djibril Ngom
Minister Delegate to the Minister of Education in Charge of Literacy and Promotion of National Languages	Mrs. Aminata Tall
Minister Delegate to the Minister of Equipment, Transport, and Sea in Charge of the Sea	Myabe Diouf
Minister Delegate to the Minister of Rural Development and Water Resources in Charge of Water Resources	Cheikh Amidou Kane

Article 3: The present decree will be published in the official journal.

### Prime Minister Thiam Makes Statement

AB0704215691 Dakar Domestic Service in French  
2000 GMT 7 Apr 91

[Text] The new prime minister was appointed this morning by President Abdou Diouf. He is Habib Thiam, who had already been prime minister from 1981 to 1983 before becoming speaker of the National Assembly for one year. He then left the political scene and became chairman of the Board of Governors of the Senegalese International Bank for Commerce and Industry and managed an important agro-industrial complex for dairy production.

This morning, our correspondents listened to the new prime minister's first statement to the press. Habib Thiam, the new prime minister, stated that the next agricultural campaign will be his first priority. He also said that his government will be formed as rapidly as possible, between now and tomorrow, Monday. Let us listen to Habib Thiam:

[Begin: Thiam recording] With the formation of such a government team, we will do everything possible to merit the honor and confidence shown to us. A government team that is mobilized under a consolidated and deep-rooted democratic process, coupled with a system of extended presidential majority, should be able to diligently operate an action program conceived to help our country out of the economic and social crisis and lead it resolutely along the path of development.

All this is really possible with the mobilization of all the active forces of the nation—all its men, all its women, all its youth, all its old people, all its farmers, herdsmen, fishermen, all its workers in the public and private sectors, all its businessmen, all its artisans—all of them, or at least their largest possible majority. This is the great responsibility for the entire nation. As far as I am concerned, the government, with the help of God, will fully assume its responsibility—unite and work together for the progress of Senegal, as [words indistinct] the credo of the president of the Republic [words indistinct] the action of the government. [end recording]

### \* Camara Independence, Credibility Doubted

91AF0853B Dakar WAF FADJRI in French  
15-21 Feb 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] Rumors on the appointment of several potential candidates (including Keba Mbaye) had been circulating, but few observers expected that Ousmane Camara would be named mediator of the republic [ombudsman] in a presidential decree issued on 14 February. No political observer thought that the first president of the Supreme Court would be appointed. Nor did a number of deputies (with whom we discussed the question) who

voted on 18 January for the draft law concerning the establishment of the position of "mediator of the republic."

That is to say that President Abdou Diouf upset all of the forecasts by choosing Ousmane Camara to be mediator of the republic. His successor as first president of the Supreme Court was not known at the time we went to press.

It is less his qualities as an intellectual than his independence of the government that has fed concerns about such a nomination, if not flat opposition to it, by the different political figures whom we contacted by telephone (see reactions below). Such views may be justified by the fact that the Supreme Court has never been so harshly criticized since Ousmane Camara has been its president. Since 28 June 1985, when he took his oath of office on the court, he has been criticized for his political past, which had kept him away from the courts for the 14 years when he was a political party member. Today the same criticism comes from those who dealt with him on a day-to-day basis when he was active in a section of the UPS/PS [Senegalese Progressive Union/Socialist Party] until he left the government, where he had held various ministerial positions. His political past sticks to him.

When street riots broke out, violently challenging the results of the 1988 general elections, which were tainted with massive fraud, Camara was the director of the office charged with supervising the conduct of those elections.

### Respect for the Rules

This reminder discounts the very independence of the ombudsman (or mediator of the republic) whom President Abdou Diouf has appointed. This nomination placed the institution, from its very beginning, in some doubt regarding the confidence that people have in it. Now the mediator of the republic, which Ousmane Camara has become, has particular need of being credible in the eyes of public opinion, including all of its tendencies, to be able to perform his dual functions. That is, exercising a rigorous check on the respect shown by the government for the rules enacted by the legislator and preventing or staving off encroachments by the government on individual rights and freedoms.

It may be feared that the numerous victims of arbitrary measures, abuses of power, or excessive slowness on the part of the government will turn away from the mediator who, however, seeks to achieve a higher, moral tone in our administrative institutions. The person named to this position reportedly was to enjoy broad support from the authorities and political groups. There reportedly were reasons for hoping in the effectiveness of the institution.

The appointment of Ousmane Camara came at a time when people were predicting that he would be nominated to the cushy position of an ambassador. A rumor to this effect was circulating for more than a year. However, the first president of the Supreme Court apparently refused to leave his original area of activity (as judge of a court) to which he had just returned. Despite pressures on him, he has remained unmoved in his position as the most senior judge.

In leaving his position as a judge now it is to accept an appointment allowing him to continue to bathe in an atmosphere related to the magistracy. However, he also does this without losing any of the advantages of his previous position: the same salary, total immunity, and freedom from being moved during the six years of his term of office, at a time when he is near retirement.

#### Reactions From the Opposition

Landing Savane—And Jef [Revolutionary Movement for a New Democracy]: "This matter of the mediator will not stand up. The appointment is not based on any serious reason. Moreover, it is not going to change very much. It is one more artificial action that makes it possible to avoid dealing with the problems facing us. It is not in the presidential palace that we can resolve this situation. Neither is it in the unilateral way in which a solution was reached. The matter of the appointment of the mediator must be perceived as such."

Amath Dansokho—PIT [Party for Independence and Labor]: "I attach no exaggerated importance to this matter of the mediator. The essence of the problem lies in the existence of democratic institutions. Ousmane Camara was a cabinet minister under President Senghor Toure. He was a member of the Socialist Party and was one of its most extremist elements. His role as first president of the Supreme Court has been controversial. He buried the question of the electoral abuses. He does not leave me with the impression that he is a man who can free himself from his partisan attachments."

"The fact remains that we are still waiting to see him in action to judge him more accurately, even though we think that this appointment will not fundamentally change things. The founding principle of a republic is free and democratic expression by the citizens through the exercise of the universal right to vote."

Mbaye Niang—PIP [Party for Independence and Labor]: "Senegal is always described as a nation of laws. A nation of laws is based on a certain, juridical order in which the citizen has a right of recourse against attacks on his freedom and rights. Now this concept of a nation of laws has crumbled away in the minds of the people and in reality. For example, I have in my hands a certain number of definitive, judicial decisions, which the government and certain institutions obstinately refuse to apply. There is the case of a decision made several years ago to the benefit of certain former employees of the railroad service. I have been corresponding with the

office of the Presidency of the Republic since 1987 on this matter without any results. There are many examples of this.

"Under these circumstances I am inclined to ask myself about the effectiveness of a mediator, whoever the person appointed to this position. The problem is not a question of independence. Even if the mediator were independent, one may doubt his effectiveness, in particular because of the failure to recognize the prerogatives of the legislator or the executive. There is total confusion."

Abdoulaye Bathily—LD-MPT [Democratic League-Movement for the Labor Party]: "The appointment of Ousmane Camara confirms what we thought of the mediator. This is an expensive and useless function. Moreover, Ousmane Camara is a party man, a former leader of the Socialist Party, and then a cabinet minister before being appointed first president of the Supreme Court, where he has buried cases of massive electoral fraud. Every day he observes repeated violations of the rights of the citizens without lifting his little finger."

"Appointing such a man as mediator of the republic cheapens the position. They needed to put him somewhere and they put him there."

#### \* Student Violence: Political, Social Context

91AF0853A Dakar WIL FADJRI in French  
15-21 Feb 91 p 4

[Text] Those who do not wish to venture into a political explanation of the violence in the schools are satisfied—and not unreasonably so—with more sociological arguments. After all, since the schools are part of society, it is an illusion to try turning them into a haven of nonviolence in an atmosphere marked by physical and psychic violence. It all fits together and, in the view of headmaster Becker of the Lycee Lamine Gueye, "No one should be surprised at seeing children handling pistols and knives. They are armed because they see their parents armed."

Therefore, the immediate environment surrounding a child counts for a great deal. Headmaster Moustapha Diagne of the Lycee Blaise Diagne looked further back in discussing the impossibility of improving behavior in a school with about 6,000 students. He said: "The students come from various social backgrounds, most often from disadvantaged groups. There are many social welfare cases among them. Therefore, they come to school with insults already on their lips."

Ibrahim Ba, the director of middle and secondary general education, said that these children are "pedagogically distressed." To which might be added the extreme vulnerability of the child to violence. The events that have occurred in Senegal since 1988 profoundly marked the young people who participated in them or witnessed them. At the time of the killings linked to the events in



Mauritania they saw violence become a commonplace occurrence and carried to an extreme degree.

Moustapha Diagne expressed the view that there is also some responsibility for this situation on the part of the media, adding: "When for 1,000 CFA [African Financial Community] francs you can look at scenes of violence on the TV screen...."

However, there are causes specifically related to the schools that Becker emphasized to a considerable extent: reassignment of students expelled for disciplinary offenses to another school. He added: "They will continue their studies in other schools where they will be greeted as heroes before 'contaminating' all the other students. They should be excluded from all of the schools in Senegal."

At the present time, when violence is widespread, we should ask ourselves about it and think about solutions. According to Birahim Ba, the first thing "is to educate students for democracy. The leaders of the committees working for one cause or another say whatever they wish, imposing their views on others. However, they refuse to allow students not on strike to speak. In most cases the students not on strike do not even have the opportunity of knowing what is in the platform of claims. The students should learn to think for themselves and develop their ability to analyze issues. They are always capable of thinking and of finding solutions for a mathematics examination. However, faced with certain situations they never make the same effort."

To return to this idea of democracy, we cannot ignore a fortunate initiative introduced by Iba Der Thiam when he was minister of national education and now picked up again by his successors, involving "democratic management."

The students used to feel an adequate sense of responsibility. Iba Ndiaye Diadji suggested: "It would also be appropriate to reestablish the consultative committees, which should decide on whether to go out on strike. With this system the students of each class express their views by referendum and delegate two of their members to transmit their decision. That is the way in which the Lycee Seydou Nourou Tall kept out of the strike."

However, the most important aspect remains a general reflection on the problem of violence. Iba Der Thiam proposed the "establishment of centers of thought where researchers, the teachers' trade unions, parents of students, and directors of schools would be invited." Provided that the conclusions that would come out of these centers would not just be put away in someone's drawer, without any further action being taken.

### \* 1990 Crop Figures Said Hard To Obtain

91AF0853C Dakar WAL FADJRI in French  
1-6 Feb 91 p 5

[Article by Ousseynou Gueye: "What Are They Hiding in Rural Development?"; first paragraph is WAL FADJRI introduction]

[Text] The instructions of the chief of state to the government have often been repeated. However, the cult of secrecy (open secrets) still lives on in the corridors of the government. Following is one example, among others, of the weekly obstacles that we encounter.

A little more than three weeks ago the minister of rural development and irrigation released preliminary data on the harvest. These results made it appear that there was a decline in the order of 50,000 tons in the grain harvest and a decline of 500,000 tons in the peanut harvest.

We therefore contacted the Directorate of Agriculture to obtain more detailed information. There was a categorical refusal by those whom we contacted to provide such information. They said that they had received "a circular from Minister Cheikh Cissokho, instructing them not to provide any information without the approval of the cabinet."

This attitude is contrary to the instructions of the president of the republic. However, in our desire to go in search of the information, we raised the matter with the government press attache so that he might help us to do our job. The press attache arranged a meeting for us with the director of agriculture, taking care to explain to him the reasons for our visit. The director of agriculture received us on 23 January but said that he knew nothing about the reasons for our efforts. After we explained why we were looking for the information, he said that he had just received the data on the harvest. He wanted to postpone our conversation because "it is necessary for me to contact the minister before I will be able to answer your questions."

Despite this runaround, we agreed on another date. The director said that he was going to be away from Dakar but was going to give instructions to his associates to answer our questions. A meeting was again scheduled for 28 January. To show his good faith, he asked his secretary to send me, on 25 January, a document reporting the results of the harvest and to remind him, on 26 January, of "the instructions that he should give to Cheikh Ibrahima Ndiaye to reply to the questions of the journalist." What a joke!

The first false note is that we did not receive the document. However, let us go on. On 28 January we went to the Directorate of Agriculture to meet Cheikh Ibrahima Ndiaye, at the time chief of the agricultural statistics section. To our great surprise he told us that he had received no instructions to talk to us. We then went

to see the secretary of the director who, in turn, confirmed that the director left no instructions in this regard.

That, in substance, is how certain leaders behave in our government services. Their lack of seriousness is only equalled by their unbreakable determination to hide their shortcomings. No doubt they do not wish to expose their failures to the public. Our readers may be happy to learn that there are always people available to provide reliable information, which the director of agriculture tries to cover up with false arguments.

For what they did not say is that the 50,000 tons of grains mentioned by the minister was not the real shortfall, as a technician of the Department of Agriculture told us. The unweighted figure is more than 500,000 tons. They took into account gifts and imports that made up for the "failure to harvest" additional grain to reach the figure of 50,000 tons. In short, that means that our agricultural harvest is a bad one. A recent press bulletin from Syfia (a specialized agency) reports a fall of 9.4 percent in the harvest. How did they reach that figure? No doubt that is what the director of agriculture wanted to hide.

In 1990, employees of the National Agricultural Credit Fund played the same game of hide and seek with us before giving us a reply.

The right to information is sacred. Let them make a mockery of the instructions of the president or do the same with those whom they appoint to the position of director of agriculture. However, for pity's sake, let them stop playing games with the press.

P.S. In an interview with our colleague from APS [Senegalese Press Agency], the regional inspector of agriculture in Kaolack reviewed the harvest in his area. That is how he revealed that overall peanut production is on the order of 250,000 tons, compared to 242,000 tons in 1990. Earlier forecasts were not realized because production was 785 kg per hectare, compared to 1,137 kg per hectare in 1990.

Regarding grains, Kaolack produced 320,000 tons of millet, sorghum, corn, and rice. However, the inspector is convinced that the harvest, although it was "far from catastrophic, was the poorest since 1985."

## Sierra Leone

### 'Stringent' Measures Said Urged Against Liberians

AB0904143091 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] Several stringent measures may be taken against Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone by that country's government as a result of fighting between Sierra Leonean soldiers and rebels of Mr. Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front. According to diplomatic sources, members of Sierra Leone's Parliament, at an extraordinary session last Friday [5 April], delivered to government a

10-count proposal on how to prevent the reoccurrence of an attack by the rebels. The proposals include: calling a halt to hospitality toward Liberian refugees; carrying out stringent security tests of both refugees and returnees for identification and registration; and shutting down all Liberian-owned companies established during the (?conflict). Many members of parliament (?are said not) to be in support of the resolutions to halt hospitality toward Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone, some of whom they are quoted as saying, are [words indistinct] despite the strain on their country's resources, which have been stretched to the minimum.

### Fierce Fighting With NPFL Rebels

AB0904155191 Paris AFP in French 1301 GMT  
9 Apr 91

[Text] Freetown, 9 Apr (AFP)—Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] rebels launched an attack on Sierra Leonean territory on 7 April, killing five persons including the president of the Supreme Islamic Council, Alhaji Jallo Timbo. This was announced in several mosques in Freetown today. The attack occurred at Zimi, approximately 500 km away from Freetown. The rebels ambushed a car, killing its five occupants.

The president of the Islamic Council was considered the supreme head of Sunni Muslims in Sierra Leone.

According to General Mohamed Tarawalli, the Sierra Leonean Armed Forces chief, the NPFL rebels "are still in control" of two areas: Koindu in the north, and Zimi, further south. According to information reaching Freetown today, fierce fighting is under way in these areas where the Sierra Leonean Armed Forces are trying to dislodge the rebels.

Meanwhile, there were demonstrations today in Freetown in protest against the invasion by Liberian rebels, which began on 23 March. Taxi drivers, doctors, sweepers, lawyers, and politicians demonstrated with banners condemning the NPFL "invasion," and calling for Charles Taylor to be hanged.

### NPFL Involvement Cited

AB0904165091 Paris AFP in English 1630 GMT  
9 Apr 91

[Text] Freetown, April 9 (AFP)—A captured Liberian insurgent on Tuesday said he had been ordered to attack Sierra Leone because it was one of the West African nations that had frustrated plans of Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor. Fallah Stellan Kalubeh said that he himself had asked to address journalists to give an explanation of Mr. Taylor's involvement in an incursion into Sierra Leone. "Our commander told us we must attack Sierra Leone as it is a base of ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], and ECOMOG has disrupted the plans of our leader, Charles Taylor, to rule Liberia," Mr.



Kalubeh said. ECOMOG is a Nigeria-led peace-keeping force sent to the Liberian capital Monrovia last August by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which includes a Sierra Leone contingent.

Mr. Kalubeh, 20, said he was captured during a rebel raid on the market town of Koindu on March 27, about four months after he joined Mr. Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). Presented to the press in nothing but a pair of shorts, with one arm in a stained bandage, he added that he had abandoned his uniform before he was seized. He had been in a group of about 35 rebels who drove across the border in three vehicles armed with machine guns and stole cars and other goods to take back to Liberia, Mr. Kalubeh said.

Pressed on why he had asked to meet reporters, he said: "Charles Taylor has disowned us by saying that no NPFL people are involved in the fighting in Sierra Leone. It shows that he is not a man to be trusted."

Another rebel, Dolo Noah, a 29-year-old deputy commander in the NPFL, said he had entered Koindu "to transact some business with the Pan-African Commodity Corporation" owned by a Liberian magnate, Kekura Kpoto, who had sought refuge in Sierra Leone during the Liberian civil war. He recounted an incident when 40 guns were hidden in sacks of produce and transported from Mr. Taylor's Liberian base at Gbarnga to Koindu for handing over to Mr. Kpoto. "We depend on bringing in produce to sell so that we can buy food. We were desperate as there is no food in the rebel camps," he said.

Mr. Noah described Mr. Taylor as "untrustworthy". "The attack going on in Sierra Leone is inspired by Charles Taylor. Even if you kill me, I would not hide this truth from you. Nobody has forced me to say these things," he added. Mr. Taylor's main support was coming from Libya and Burkina Faso and he was assisted by Liberians who had had training in both countries, Mr. Noah charged. He said there were about 100 soldiers in a special forces squad headed by a Liberian, Anthony Xekwehabe. Mr. Noah also spoke of meeting a Sierra Leonean nicknamed "the godfather" who had had training in Libya and Burkina Faso. "I don't know his real name," he said.

Sierra Leone President Joseph Momoh told a rally here Tuesday that "many Sierra Leonean troops, policemen and civilians have been killed" by the rebels and called for the observance of one minute's silence. He gave no casualty figures, but said evidence had been unearthed of "Sierra Leoneans conniving with the rebels".

Islamic prayer leaders early Tuesday told hundreds of Sunni Moslems gathering for Ramadan prayers that the NPFL had on Sunday killed the president of Sierra Leone's Supreme Islamic Council, Jallo Timbo, and four other people in an ambush on their car near Zimi.

Reports reaching Freetown said there was continued heavy fighting around Koindu and Zimi, two regions in

the south and east of the country still in Liberian rebel hands. One report said the NPFL was using howitzers to defend the towns. The crowd cheered when Mr. Momoh said "Multiparty (democracy) is bound to come (in Sierra Leone), but it should not be covered with blood."

In another development, a U.S. Embassy spokesman here announced a visit later this week by U.S. Army General James McCarthy, deputy commander-in-chief of the U.S. European Command based in Stuttgart, Germany. The spokesman said Gen. McCarthy's visit had been scheduled before the incursion of rebels into Sierra Leone.

### **Momoh on Attack From Liberia, Multiparty System**

*AB0904215491 Freetown Domestic Service in English  
2000 GMT 9 Apr 91*

[Text] Thousands of Sierra Leoneans from all walks of life, including women and youth, today attended a mass solidarity rally in support of President Momoh and his government's action against the invasion of Sierra Leone by Charles Taylor's rebel forces. The solidarity rally, which earlier commenced at the Victoria Park, proceeded to the forecourt of State House.

In a message of solidarity read by Mrs. Ruben Ford, secretary general of the APC [All People's Congress] Women's Organization, the rally noted with dismay and indignation news of the acts of banditry and aggression perpetrated by Charles Taylor and his so-called National Patriotic Front of Liberia. She condemned what she described as a cowardly act aimed at destabilizing not only the peaceful nation of Sierra Leone, but also the West African subregion. They also pledged their total support and solidarity with President Momoh and his government for the timely action taken to rout the invading forces of the enemy to safeguard our territorial integrity and security. The force commander, Major General M.S. Tarawali, and the inspector general of police and the ground forces were also assured of the rally's unremitting support and solidarity with country in defense of the motherland.

In a four-point resolution presented to President Momoh, the mass rally asked government to take immediate steps to weed out rebel elements from among the Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone. They (?strongly) asked government to take immediate steps in establishing separate settlements for all Liberian refugees in the country. The resolution called on all patriotic Sierra Leoneans to exercise greater vigilance and to report to the police any suspicious movement by any persons, or group of persons.

In (?reply), President Momoh said he was very gladened that despite our differences, Sierra Leoneans mobilized in the face of external threats and difficulties. The president figured that as a result of the unwarranted aggression by Charles Taylor and his bandits, a country,

and that is including soldiers, policemen, and defenseless and innocent citizens have had to suffer.

Dr. Momoh spoke of Charles Taylor's insatiable thirst for power in Liberia, which had resulted in the killing of thousands of people in that country. He stated that it was in recognition of such carnage that ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] heads of state decided to intervene through ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] to end the bloodshed and bring peace to Liberia. He said that in the process, the Liberian operation has cost individual countries enormous amounts of unbudgeted expenditure, only to receive from Charles Taylor and his gang of thieves, rogues, and bandits such a crazy display of ingratitude.

President Momoh said that he was greatly encouraged by the demonstration of people's power, and asked that if it comes to the worst we must be ready to shed our blood and pursue them beyond our borders. The head of state condemned those turned to help the invading forces and warned against malicious propaganda and rumors, urging all well-meaning Sierra Leoneans to become policemen to arrest such fabrications.

Speaking about the return to multipartyism [word as heard], President Momoh said that Corporal Foday Sanko and his likes cannot (?liberate) this country and return it to pluralism through the barrel of the gun. He assured the audience that the multiparty [system] will come but gradually and legally through the ballot box.

The rally was addressed by a representative of the IWDA [expansion unknown], Mrs. Daizy Boda, a representative of the Youth Organization. Mr. Michel Koroma, while the vote of thanks was delivered by Paramount Chief Honoria Birokoka of Kagbo chiefdom in (Mayamba) District. The chief social development officer, Mrs. Punje Njaye, served as chairperson for the mass rally.

## Togo

### Communique Issued After FAR, Eyadema Meeting

AB0804204091 Lome Domestic Service in French  
1900 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Communique issued following a meeting between President Eyadema and the Front of Associations for Renewal in Lome on 8 April]

[Text] On Monday 8 April 1991 at 0900, the Front of Associations for Renewal [FAR] met with the head of state at the Presidential Palace. During this meeting, the FAR expressed its indignation in the face of the violent turn of events such as those on Friday, 5 April 1991, particularly, the shooting that took place that afternoon in front of the party hall and which led to the death of two people.

The head of state fully shared FAR's indignation and deplored that situation. The president of the Republic

informed the FAR that as soon as he was briefed about that extremely serious incident, he immediately ordered the arrest of the incident's authors for having disobeyed the strict instructions he gave to the security forces never to use their weapons against the population.

In view of the seriousness of these acts, he ordered that the soldiers implicated in the incident be dismissed immediately from the Army. The president of the Republic expressed his desire to see the democratization of political life in Togo take place in calm and with a spirit of dialogue and exchange of views. Finally, he assured the population of his firm determination to ensure implementation of the conclusions of the joint commission in the interests of peace and concord among all the sons of the nation.

### Schools, University Ordered Closed

AB0904122691 Lome Domestic Service in French  
0615 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Communique on disturbances issued in Lome on 8 April]

[Text] The Togolese Government has shown its determination to work toward peace and national concord and to initiate dialogue at all levels to resolve all conflicts. This policy has guided its action in the search for solutions to end the disturbances taking place at the University of Benin and other schools in our country. In order to establish a dialogue between all parties concerned, two commissions were created to collect various opinions, to analyze the grievances of students and pupils, and to propose solutions to the government to end the conflict and reestablish peace and harmony, as well as secure the smooth resumption of educational activity.

As stated in the communique issued on 30 March and 1 April 1991 by the joint Technical and Parity Commission including representatives of the government and the Front of Associations for Renewal, all student grievances were satisfied with only one pending issue which was the return of a student, Mr. Nayonne. Mr. Nayonne was brought back to Lome on Sunday, 7 April 1991, and presented to the public on national television. On Monday, 8 April 1991, he met with the leaders of student associations.

Unfortunately, incidents in the various schools and at the University of Benin have (?continued until today). Teachers from the private Catholic Mission schools went on strike and this action triggered street demonstrations and primary school pupils were forced to join the movement. Each of these demonstrations organized by students and pupils led to acts of violence which spread to the interior of the country. In addition, a number of new student associations were created contesting the agreements reached between the students and the Togolese authorities.

In view of the intransigence shown by some students, the daily acts of violence, the stalemate in teaching activities at the University of Benin and other public and private schools, the government has decided, as of Monday, 8 April 1991, to close until further notice all schools throughout the entire national territory, in addition to the University of Benin.

### **Gasoline Price Increases Canceled**

*AB0904174491 Lome Domestic Service in French  
1230 GMT 9 Apr 91*

[Text] The strike by taxi and bus drivers embarked upon yesterday continued today despite the timid attempt by some to resume work. To deal with the situation created by the refusal of passengers to pay the transport fares demanded by the drivers, which was fixed some weeks ago, the government has just taken the following measures:

By inter-ministerial order dated today, 9 April 1991, the retail sale prices of a liter of fuel at all pumps throughout the national territory have been brought back to the previous levels of 17 January 1991 and have been fixed as follows:

- super petrol: 205 francs;
- ordinary petrol: 200 francs
- kerosene: 135 francs;
- gasoil: 180 francs;
- pre-mixed fuel: 215 francs.

In addition, as from today, the urban transport fares and interurban transport fares have been restored to the previous levels of 17 January 1991.

In a related development, the secretary general of the Union of Road Drivers of Togo invites all delegates of stations in Lome to an important meeting that will take place this afternoon at the National Confederation of Togolese Workers headquarters.

### **Sporadic Clashes Reported**

*AB0904162291 Paris AFP in French 1343 GMT  
9 Apr 91*

[Text] Lome, 9 Apr (AFP)—Several thousand Togolese, among them many youth, demonstrated today in Lome against President Gnassingbe Eyadema's regime. There were sporadic clashes between demonstrators and several hundred soldiers who were being increasingly reinforced, AFP observed. There were no official casualties in these incidents by 1230 GMT. The demonstrators reported some injuries within their ranks, but they did not give the exact number or how serious they were. An AFP journalist saw soldiers beating an old woman with truncheons after entering her house.

The demonstrators, with their faces covered, threw stones at the soldiers who replied with tear gas grenades. Many demonstrators had slings, metallic bars with sharp tips, and some had bottles of gasoline. If the soldiers who

were in direct contact with the crowd seemed to be armed only with truncheons, several dozen others set up automatic weapons at certain intersections, with, it seems, orders to stay at their positions.

The disturbances began at dawn in Kodjoviakope, a heavily populated ward less than 500 meters west of the Presidential Palace, and extended to Be, another working class ward less than 1 km to the east, which has been in the hands of the demonstrators since yesterday. Many students and pupils joined the movement yesterday after the government closed public and private schools indefinitely due to the disturbances and persistent demands. Many women took part in the demonstrations by supplying piles of stones and water to fight against the effects of the tear gas.

Dozens of makeshift roadblocks were built in the dirt roads of two insurgent wards and on the tarred avenues, including the circular road encircling the district of the Presidency, ministries, embassies, and big business. Traffic was greatly reduced.

On their part, taxi and bus drivers continued their strike on Monday. The former want the prices to be decreased and the latter stopped work in solidarity. Several traders downtown closed their shops when they heard about the clashes, but the central market operated normally.

### **AFP Reports Armored Vehicles in Lome**

*AB0904194291 Paris AFP in French 1853 GMT  
9 Apr 91*

[Text] Lome, 9 Apr (AFP)—The Togolese Army deployed armored vehicles late in the afternoon today in the streets of Lome where there are still numerous demonstrators, according to an AFP reporter on the spot. Half a dozen of these vehicles, which seemed to be troop carriers, were seen from a distance from the fringes of the Ghanaian border which runs along the Togolese capital, but the soldiers drove away journalists who tried to get closer. The border was closed on the Togolese side.

Around 1800 GMT, other armored vehicles were parked in the city center in front of the Togolese Bank for Commerce and Industry building and soldiers were firing tear gas. As night began to fall, the demonstrators pulled barbed wire off the border to adorn the countless roadblocks raised in various districts. "Hooligans" seemed to be increasing in number, ready to hold the few motorists who ventured to move about in the city to ransom.

### **Government Declares Nationwide Curfew**

*AB0904205691 Lome Domestic Service in French  
1920 GMT 9 Apr 91*

[Communique on the institution of a nationwide curfew issued by the government on 9 April]

[Text] The demonstrations of the past few days in the capital and some localities of the interior have rapidly

degenerated into acts of vandalism, destruction, looting, and sometimes attempts on lives. These acts are committed by organized gangs seeking to take advantage of the situation to create disorder, panic, and desolation for our peaceful Togolese people in general, and residents of our capital, in particular. In the face of this situation of insecurity and to protect the civilian population, as well as public and private property, the government decrees, as of today, 9 April 1991, a nationwide curfew from 1900 to 0600.

#### **Demonstrations Resume 10 Apr**

*AB1004102291 Paris AFP in French 0912 GMT  
10 Apr 91*

[Text] Lome, 10 Apr (AFP)—Antigovernment demonstrations resumed this morning after the curfew was lifted at 0700 in Lome, where fresh roadblocks have been erected at various points in the Togolese capital, an AFP reporter observed here.

The disturbances are mainly in Adjoviakope, a large working class district situated between the Presidency and the Ghana border. Demonstrators stoned soldiers and the soldiers retaliated with tear gas grenades. The security forces, in general, were not carrying firearms but they had truncheons.

Calm prevailed early this morning in the city center where the ministries, embassies, and main commercial centers are located, and the central market was functioning normally.

In Be, a working class district east of the town, people took to the streets which have been deserted by soldiers since 7 April.

A military helicopter has started overflying Lome. No report is available on the outcome of yesterday's incidents.

Taxis have resumed work after the reduction in fuel and fare prices, two demands for which they went on strike 8 April. The government responded positively to their demands yesterday evening.



**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

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